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*THE ZULUS*









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**THE ZULUS**  
**AND**  
**THE BRITISH FRONTIERS.**



# THE ZULUS

AND

## THE BRITISH FRONTIERS.

BY  
THOMAS J. LUCAS,  
CAPTAIN OF THE LATE CAPS MOUNTED RIFLES,  
AUTHOR OF "CAMP LIFE AND SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA."



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## PREFACE.

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ENCOURAGED by the favourable reception already accorded to my late publication, "Camp Life and Sport in South Africa," I have ventured once more to add my quota of information to the common stock, in the hope that some additional light may be thrown upon the many complicated questions inseparable from our position as colonists in South Africa. A distinguished authority, Colonel Mure, M.P., who has had considerable experience of Kaffir warfare, in an interesting letter published in the *Daily News* of March 31st, has drawn a comparison between the forces at our disposal at the present crisis, and those employed by us for the subjugation of the Gaikas and Galekas in the war terminated last year.

Having served with my regiment, the Cape Mounted Rifles, in the campaign of 1851-53, I have thought in a similar manner that it might not be un-

interesting to draw a parallel between the Zulu War now going on, and former Kaffir wars, hoping that valuable suggestions may be deduced from this study. I would, at the same time, here endeavour to offer a few practical suggestions with regard to the future defence of our South African colonies, more especially as the ultimate withdrawal of the Imperial troops will relegate to the colonists themselves, in the future, the anxious duty of defending our enormously extended boundaries.

The great object to be arrived at therefore would be the institution of a defence force complete in itself, and sufficiently powerful and useful to answer all the requirements of colonial warfare, irrespective of Imperial troops; in other words a permanent colonial force, equal to all emergencies. In former days, the Colony was defended from the probable incursion of the savage Gaika and Galeka tribes by a chain of forts, placed at convenient intervals on the frontier line, and held by a mounted as well as infantry force. The cavalry force was represented by that useful corps, the Cape Mounted Rifles; and the infantry was supplied by the different regiments which happened to be available. So I think in the

present instance that a corps answering to the Cape Mounted Rifles, and similarly organised and appointed, consisting of ten or twelve troops, might be advantageously employed to defend our frontier boundaries to the north-east. These troops would be distributed over a number of different posts, communication being kept up between them by continual patrols of small parties, carrying the mails and despatches. The garrisons at these posts might be supplemented with small parties of infantry or militia (dismounted) if necessary. In this way, a constant surveillance would be exercised over the frontier line, without interfering in any way with the susceptibilities of the Zulus, or actually crossing the boundary line. They would convey intelligence of any hostile movement among the natives, and would be always available to recapture cattle stolen or carried over the border, which, being mounted, they could easily achieve; their presence would give confidence to the settlers living upon outlying farms, and would be an adequate protection. This regiment should not consist of less than eight or nine hundred men; it would possibly do away with any necessity for the employment of infantry at all, and would be the



most economical in the end. The Zulus have shown themselves incapable of successfully attacking intrenched camps, even of a very slight improvised construction. The forts, therefore, would not be very formidable or expensive, but mere earthworks. Such a force, being mounted, could easily be withdrawn, if occasion required, and concentrated upon its base, which with an infantry force would be difficult, in case of these posts being surrounded as at Etchowe. This mounted force should be as lightly equipped as possible, armed with short double-barrelled smooth-bore carbines, slung as at present seen in the Mounted Police. The saddles should be plain, with moveable holsters to carry a brace of revolvers. The horses should be bought by Government, allowing the men the right of purchase at a certain moderate price, and the arms supplied on the same terms, to be properly inspected and passed to ensure efficiency.

In addition to this mounted force, all the able-bodied population of the towns should be enrolled, and liable to serve up to a certain age, if necessity required ; this at all events should be the rule until security of frontier is attained. This militia should be properly armed and equipped, and subjected to

inspection from time to time periodically, being instructed to defend intrenchments, and made altogether efficient as a defensive force in case of extremity.

The patrolling force should have power to seize arms carried over the boundary for sale to the natives. Such sale of arms ought to be made a military offence, and treated summarily by court-martial.

I would thus have the whole population, capable of bearing arms, enrolled for mutual defence, with other proper positions and stations assigned, and prepared at a moment's notice to take up the different points for that purpose, if required ; and I think that this attitude would be the best preventive of any outbreak on the part of the natives.

At the same time, I would appoint residents or magistrates, where practicable, among the native Zulus, to maintain order and see that justice is done, should favourable circumstances arise for that purpose, such as the decline of Ketchwhy's power, or in the event of his death or deposition. The authority of these residents or magistrates should be supported by a large body of native police. The friendly natives would be no doubt available for this purpose. My belief is that, if security to life and property could be secured to the

natives of Zulu Land by this system, which has been already successfully carried out in other parts of Kaffir Land, the force of public opinion on the part of the natives of Zulu Land would soon interpose a barrier to the excesses of despotism like that of their present King, and would be the most effectual method of initiating a new order of things in that region of South Africa.

I have been assisted by my friend, Mr. R. Acton, who has contributed the account of political transactions in Natal and the Transvaal, and of the disputes preceding the recent declaration of war. He desires to be alone responsible for the statements and comments upon those parts of the subject.

T. J. L.

45, BLENHEIM CRESCENT,  
NOTTING HILL.

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# THE ZULUS

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EASTERN SOUTH AFRICA: COUNTRY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

Geographical position.—Physical features.—The whole region divided between the elevated inland plains and the parallel ranges, or descending terraces, falling towards the sea.—The Transvaal.—Territory of Natal.—Zulu Land.—The mountains.—The rivers.—Animals of this region of South Africa.

Our possessions in South Africa have now become so extended in their area, and embrace so many detached portions of an enormous frontier in that country, that I think it will be highly necessary to give some exposition of its geographical regions, so that, by a slight reference to the map, the reader may realise our present position with some certainty. This will therefore, I am afraid, necessarily be a somewhat dry chapter. Africa, however, is a dry country; which perhaps may be some excuse. I believe our knowledge generally of the geography of

South Africa to be of a very vague description, even among the educated classes; and I was amused when first preparing to start for the Cape, on my way to join my regiment, the Cape Mounted Rifles, at the remark made by a friend of mine who came to pay me a parting visit, which will illustrate my theory. "As you are going to Cape Town," said my friend, "you will meet my brother, and perhaps you will kindly take him a small parcel from me." "With pleasure," said I; "where does he reside?" "Oh! he's at Graaf Reinet, and mind and tell him that he's to write and let us know how he is getting on!" Now Graaf Reinet is nearly 500 miles from Cape Town. Why, it reminds me of the Irishman who enlisted in the 93rd regiment because he had a brother in the 94th and he wished to be near him!

Now, the country of which I am here about to speak is that region, lying to the north-east of the Cape Colony, which has its maritime shore looking over the Indian Ocean. It is situated between the twenty-eighth and thirty-second degrees of south latitude. I fear that many stay-at-home ladies and gentlemen who seldom look at a map will have been apt to think of Natal and the surrounding territories as part of "the Cape." Let them pardon me for reminding the reader, who may or may not be liable

to that mistake, how this geographical appellation is limited. The "Cape" originally meant only the Cape of Good Hope, a small peninsula between Table Bay and Simon's Bay, or False Bay, at the southwestern extremity of Africa. It may now be generally understood to signify the whole Cape Colony, including the Eastern Provinces, which extend along the entire south coast of Africa, to the Kei river, and have recently been further enlarged. But the Natal and Transvaal provinces, and the territory of the Orange River Free State, cannot properly be spoken of as a portion of the Cape, in any sense, either political or geographical. I propose in this first chapter to describe them, together with Basuto Land and East Griqua Land, which stand next to Natal inland, and with Zulu Land, the kingdom of Ketchwhy, which is situated north of Natal along the sea-shore.

The whole region of Eastern South Africa, to which I invite the reader's attention, is naturally divided into two very different stretches of country. There are first the great inland plains, elevated some 5,000 feet above the sea-level, through which the upper course of the Orange river, with its chief tributary the Vaal, collects waters to flow westward into the Atlantic; while the Limpopo, rising near the centre



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of the Transvaal territory, passes north and by a circuit finds its way to the Indian Ocean. This upland flat, extending above 500 miles from the Zuurberg, near the north-eastern boundary of the Cape Colony, to the mountains above Lydenberg, in the eastern part of the Transvaal, has its own general character. It is nowhere approached by the sea, which is from one to three hundred miles distant, and shut off from it by lofty mountain ranges. On the other side, beyond the basin of the Orange River, is the arid expanse of the Kalahari desert. Hence the climate is dry, and there are no forests; very little bush is seen except on the banks of rivers. But it is a grassy land, and its surface is here and there varied with undulations, or with conical hills and rocks. The rivers and streams are frequent, rising mostly in the Drakensberg and flowing inland, or westward, to join the Orange, which drains nearly the whole width of the continent in this latitude. But in the north-east quarter of the Transvaal, it is all different. The Oliphant and other rivers which take their rise in the Magaliesberg range, in the middle of the Transvaal, as well as the Limpopo, the principal outlet of waters on that side, have a northerly course. They flow around the rugged highlands of the Lydenberg district, in which are the goldfields of Pilgrim's Rust.

Near this, the Lolu mountains, where Secocooni bade defiance to the attacks of European troops, stand in the angle formed by the Oliphant joining with the Steelpoort river. Another district belonging to the Transvaal territory, though it was long disputed by Ketchwhy as part of the Zulu Kingdom, presents an exception to the physical aspect of the Transvaal generally. This is the Utrecht district, with the adjacent one of Wakkerstrom, forming the south-east corner of the Transvaal. It is divided from Natal by the Buffalo river as far as Rorke's Drift, the memorable scene of a terrible conflict on January 22nd of this year. The Wakkerstrom and Utrecht district is, in some parts, mountainous and thickly wooded. It may perhaps be regarded, despite its political attachment to the Transvaal, as naturally belonging to the second division, in physical geography, of Eastern South Africa.

This second regional division is very much more picturesque and diversified in surface aspect than the inland open plain. It consists of several mountain and hill ranges, and terraces, more or less parallel, one above another, ascending from the coast of the Indian Ocean. The differences of elevation and of exposure cause this region to experience several varieties of climate. Its geological structure is also more complex

and mixed up than that of the interior table-land. The result is an interesting Flora and Fauna, though without the abundance of some kinds of large game, the antelope kind especially, that was met with till lately in the plains of the Orange and Vaal. The sea-coast parts of Natal and of the Zulu country are semi-tropical. I would give a more detailed account of the successive zones of territory, with their varying characteristics ; seeing that these determine, in the long run, the human settlement of a country. The movements of population, savage or civilized, the steps of colonisation or conquest, are scarcely otherwise to be understood. I wish to disclaim, however, any pretension to give a scientific lecture on physical geography, botany, zoology, or any branch of natural history. It is only needful to get a fair notion of the habitable and productive qualities of a territory, or a group of territories, the better to understand its recent history, and the present condition of its people.

As the province of Natal, having been many years a British colony, is most accurately surveyed and described, and is most interesting to Englishmen, I will begin with this. Some notice will have to be taken afterwards of the surrounding countries, more particularly of Zulu Land.

The inland or western boundary of this province is

formed by the Drakensberg, a continuous mountain range, attaining heights of six thousand to ten thousand feet, which is called also the Kathlamba. Beyond it, in the interior, are Basuto Land, the Orange River State, and the Transvaal. The seaward slopes or terraces, looking east over the Indian Ocean, have a breadth of not more than 130 miles, altogether, nowhere less than 90 miles, which is the width of Natal. The Drakensberg range is advanced eastward by a bold angle, the projecting point of which is "The Giant's Castle," rising 9,000 feet. Another summit, called "Champagne Castle," is 500 feet higher; and here most of the Natal rivers have their source. A system of offset inferior ranges, branching to right and left from the spurs of lower mountain beneath the Giant's Castle, and connecting itself with other ranges towards the sea-coast, occupies the central part of Natal. It forms the upland basin of the river Umgeni and its affluents, in which Pietermaritzburg, the capital of the province, is situated. The Upper Tugela, above its junction with the Buffalo on the northern or Zulu frontier, flows directly east from the re-entering angle of the Drakensberg, and drains all the Klip and Weenen districts. In the southern part of Natal, the chief rivers are the Umkomazi and the Umzimkulu, with the Umlazi near Durban, which seaport town, a

very bad harbour, but the only one for the province, lies between the mouths of the Umlazi and Umgeni. None of these rivers are navigable. I must not forget the Umvoti, a comparatively short one parallel to the Lower Tugela, in the north-east corner of the province; which has, on the whole, an irregular rhomboid configuration. The Umvoti runs within twenty or thirty miles of the Zulu frontier, as marked by the Lower Tugela; and Greytown, of which we heard so much at the outset of the Zulu war, is near the sources of the Umvoti.

The entire country, it may be said, is all hills and valleys, except here and there a flat moor, or a piece of alluvial deposit. Much of the upper portion is composed of mere rock, of granite, trap, or sandstone; the granite "tors" have been compared to those of Dartmoor, in Devonshire, huge overhanging blocks, which thrust themselves out of the ground, at the brow of a hill, cresting and capping the eminence with singular effect. The sandstone cliffs, like enormous walls intersecting the land, uphold platforms or tables of limited extent; these are fragments of a former bed of sandstone, several thousand feet thick, which has been split up by the igneous eruption that formed the trap or granite. I believe there is a similar geological structure to be seen in the Blue Mountains of New

South Wales. On the west side of the Drakensberg, in Basuto Land, the basaltic ranges present a most remarkable appearance, with lofty cliffs, the upper part of whose face is hollowed out in caverns, as if by the action of the sea waves.

Zulu Land, the kingdom of our present foe Ketch-why, situated beyond the Lower Tugela, north of the Natal Colony, presents a continuation of the same physical features that I have described as characterising the easterly and maritime districts of South Africa. The sea-coast is low and flat, unlike those shores of British Kaffraria, about the mouth of the St. John river, which delight passing voyagers with the prospect of their beautiful wooded hills and grassy downs. A series of lagoons and tidal marshes, the neighbourhood of which, in that sultry climate, is scarcely less unhealthy than that of the West Coast of Africa, indents the coast line. Here is St. Lucia Bay, the Zulu por for the trade in foreign muskets and gunpowder, which has also been carried on at Delagoa Bay under Portuguese sanction or tolerance. The land, some fifteen miles from the sea, begins to rise in terraces, which are covered with rich grass, and are backed, though not with perfect uniformity, by two or three mountain ranges successively, one above another. These are interrupted by the deep-cut channels of several rivers. The

most considerable river of Zulu Land is the Umvolosi, which discharges itself into the Indian Ocean at St. Lucia Bay. It is formed by the confluence of two mountain streams, the Black Umvolosi and the White Umvolosi, near the centre of Zulu Land, and not far from the capital, Ulundi, where King Ketchwhyu usually resides. The rivers within a less distance of the Natal frontier, along the coast road, are better known to Europeans. Upon one of these streams, higher up, stands Etchowe, the fortified position held by Colonel Pearson's force in January and February last, at the commencement of the present war. The banks of the river are for the most part thickly wooded, or at least clothed with thick bush ; the lower plains, where not swampy, are covered with scrub ; and there are large forests inland. This country is not subject to drought in any season ; the rivers, which in summer are greatly swollen by the heavy rains of thunderstorms in the highlands, dwindle in the winter, from March to September, becoming insignificant streams, with here and there a deeper pool. There is no malaria in the hilly districts on the side towards Natal ; but the nether parts of Zulu Land are pestilential both to man and beast ; and the jungle is there infested by the tsetse fly, whose bite is deadly to horses and oxen.

A few words on the natural history of this part of Africa will be permitted me, I trust, by the kind indulgence of readers who may possibly be aware, from my "Camp Life and Sport in South Africa," that personal experiences have made this topic one peculiarly fascinating to me. The future chapters will be engrossed with subjects of more urgent public interest at the present crisis.

First in order, then, amongst the *feræ naturæ* comes the colossal elephant. This animal is now rarely to be seen within the precincts of the colony of Natal, though it is still to be found occasionally hidden in the deep recesses of the Tugela valley. The lion is also a rare visitor on this side of the Drakensberg, his proper habitat being the vast tract of country forming the upland plains. Both the panther and the leopard are present, however, the latter known to the Dutch settlers as the tiger (*felis leopardus*). This animal is the terror of the jungle, climbing trees and dwelling habitually in the bush and tangled forest. The leopard and panther seem to be both included in the generic term "tiger" of the colonists. The rhinoceros may still be encountered within an easy ride on the Zulu Land side beyond the Tugela. The giraffe has, however, returned to the country far distant beyond the Drakensberg, and the buffalo, once



common, has disappeared to the remote interior. The hippopotamus alone of the large feræ remains yet comparatively undisturbed in his watery retreats. The Sea Cow Lake formed by the lower waters of the Umgeni is notably a favourite resort of this animal, as also are the lagoons of the different river-mouths. To these he makes his way at early morning, crossing at times from river to river; but he is very shy of observation, his habit being to lie concealed in some favourite pool during the day-time, barely showing the tip of his broad snout above the surface of the water, and only disporting himself in the dusky hours of the evening.

Three species of hyæna are to be met with, all here known as wolves; the hyæna *crocota* (*crocota rufa*), the brown hyæna, the hyæna *villosa* or maned jackal, the strand or coast wolf of the Dutch, and the hyæna *maculata* (*hyæna capensis*) or tiger wolf. There is also the aarde wolf (*proteles salandii*) or earth wolf, again called wild dog, which appears to be somewhat intermediate between the hyæna, the jackal, and the dog. This animal is about the size of a large fox, but with longer legs, larger, more extended ears, and a shorter tail; and it has also a stiff erectile mane running the whole length of the back, with much the look of a small hyæna. It is a loathsome savage-

looking beast, its hair coarse and wiry, and bare and mangy in patches. From its activity and ferocity it is the scourge of the plains, and the most indefatigable hunter in pursuit of the antelope, never hesitating to attack the largest, and hunting in packs in the most curious manner, the chase being successively taken up by fresh relays when the first pursuers are fatigued, till in this manner the fastest antelopes become their prey. A singular proof that this animal's nature pertains more nearly to the dog than to the hyæna is adduced in the fact that the ordinary dog when hunting the aarde wolf will invariably refuse to attack on a closer acquaintance, though the same animal will hunt a hyæna to the death. The aarde wolf lives in burrows having many outlets. That curious animal the balke-vark or wart hog (*phacochærus æthiopicus*) is found in Natal. Its ugly head is furnished with powerful tusks, which are directed both sideways and upwards, and its cheek bones are further disfigured with huge warts projecting beneath its eyes. This hog may be seen creeping along with its forelegs bent under it, and prizing up the roots with its enormous canine teeth. It is a denizen of the bush equally with the bush-pig of the Colony, and weighs some 80 lbs., but is inferior in size to the latter. It has been known to shelter itself when hard pressed by

the hunter in the burrows of the jackal, out of which it is said to have a curious way of thrusting itself backwards when routed out by its pursuers. It is considered to be excellent eating. The ant bear, *aarde vark* (*orycteropus capensis*), is as common here as elsewhere in South Africa, but is as rarely seen, being a very shy nocturnal animal, living secluded in its deep circular burrows, which form perfect shafts descending some feet in a perpendicular direction before branching off laterally. Here it remains concealed by day, issuing forth only at dusk in search of its ant food. Nothing can be more interesting to a naturalist than to observe this curious quadruped laying his bulky carcass prone upon the veldt, and protruding his long prehensile tongue, thickly covered with glutinous fluid, into the cavity which he has already scraped out with his powerful claws in some ant heap. Here he waits patiently and without motion until the startled formicæ have come to the surface in sufficient quantities to cover that pliant member, to which they become glued beyond extrication, by means of the viscous matter with which it is supplied. Then, bringing his retractile muscles into play, he withdraws his tongue, to be again and again replenished. When we observe the great bulk of this animal's body, and the enormous power dis-

played in its muscular fore-arms, it seems nothing short of marvellous how the heavy beast can be sustained upon such unsubstantial food. Yet it is always fat and in good condition. Its power as a digger is unequalled. I have often heard the Boers describe how they have dug after it in their endeavour to get it out of its burrow, and how it has actually made its way through the hard baked earth at a greater rate than they could follow it. Take it altogether, the aarde vark is perhaps one of the most curious of the many feræ to be found in this interesting country.

Natal possesses ten species of antelopes. The hartebeeste, (*alcephalus caama*) common on the Umvoti flats, is a fine but singular antelope, its head being most strangely put on at right angles to its shoulders, giving it a very peculiar appearance. The horns of this species project direct from the forehead in the first instance, the points being suddenly retracted. The hartebeeste is a very swift antelope, though not apparently so, from its peculiar lumbering canter when in action. It is very important to the hunter as supplying most excellent meat. Another fine animal is the noble eland, which grows to fourteen hands high at the withers, and often weighs 1000lbs. The bush bok is an antelope inhabiting the thick cover, and possessing the singular power of laying its sharp

curved horns on either side of its neck, in passing through the tangled bush ; it is notable for its canine bark and the dangerous way it has of charging when brought to bay. The graceful bles-bok derives that name from the bles or blaze of white on its forehead. The ourebi is an antelope which has the peculiarity of squatting on the ground like the hare and running round in circles when pursued. The duyker or diver is so called from its plunging motion when taking flight into the bush. The riet-bok or reed buck, which lives in the reedy swamps, is a fine fawn-coloured antelope which buries itself in the thick cover until one comes close upon it. The horns of this species are beautifully curved and striated between the rings. The rhe-bok, called the chamois of South Africa, is very wary and swift, and is found in rocky ground and on the sides of hills covered with stunted underwood. These and the small bush-bok of Natal, almost identical with the pretty little blue buck of the Colony, are the antelopes peculiar to Natal.

The common crocodile still haunts the rivers of the coast along the sea frontier, but is seldom dreaded by the colonist unless the rivers are flooded and full of water, in which case it becomes bolder, and at times very dangerous. The large water lizard, the iguana, is common in the rivers here as further south. Of

snakes there are several varieties, the most important as to size being the Python which sometimes even attains a length of twenty-five feet. Destitute of poison fangs it is a true boa, crushing its prey within its massive folds, but not formidable to man. The imamba is doubtless the most fatally poisonous of all the Natal serpents. It is a coast snake living in the bush, and has the reputation of attacking even when not assailed; this and the puff-adder, which is common to all South Africa, are the most deadly of the snake tribe. The puff-adder is dangerous not only on account of its poison fangs, but from its sluggish nature, which constantly exposes it to be trodden upon by the unsuspecting traveller, and prevents it from getting away quickly from the disturber of its repose. It is particularly dangerous to the sportsman, as his dogs will point it and in this way often lead him up close to the reptile under the impression that he has come upon one of the numerous game birds of the country. These, with many smaller quadrupeds and numerous curious insects, and a variety of birds and fish which are found on the coast, form an interesting catalogue of animal life; every species of which is well represented in this part of South Africa.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE KAFFIRS.

Natives of Eastern South Africa, a branch of the great Bantu race.—“Kaffirs,” origin of that name.—Ama-Zulu and Ama-Xosa.—Clanship, and kindred of tribes.—Galeka headship of Amaxosa.—Overthrow of Kreli, and suppression of the Pondo tribe; recent disturbing events in Kaffirland.—Sketch of Kaffir history in South Africa.—Law of succession.—Limited power of chiefs.—Difficulty of securing observance of treaties.—Early Dutch colonisation.—Transfer of the Cape to Great Britain.—Border troubles with the Kaffirs.—Thefts of cattle.—Disputed right to the land.—Final subjection of Kaffraria by last year’s war.

THE eastern parts of South Africa, briefly described in my preceding chapter, have been occupied, within historical times, by a variety of native tribes, who are often spoken of, in general, as “Kaffirs.” They differ essentially, as I suppose most people are aware, from the negro races of Western and North Central Africa. According to Mr. A. H. Keane, in his learned treatise appended to Keith Johnston’s “Africa,” the Kaffirs, with whom are reckoned the Zulus, are one branch of the great “Bantu” family, a term denoting certain affinities proved by the structure of their language. To the same family, he tells us, also belong the

Matabele and other Bechuana populations of the interior, away towards the Zambesi and farther on where Dr. Livingstone travelled in his earlier journeys. The shores of the Mozambique Channel are inhabited by kindred nations. They seem even to have a community of origin with the Suaheli and Wanyamwesi, of the coast opposite Zanzibar and the Lake Tanganyika region; at any rate, they are East Africans, and not negroes properly so called. Their colour is seldom black; it is most commonly a dark brown; but they are fond of smearing their bodies with reddish clay and oil. Their eyes are black and brilliant; the hair is not so woolly as the negro's, and the features, though varying in different individuals, are of an Eastern type. Some writers have suggested that these people are descendants of the ancient Ethiopians, who came up the valley of the Nile, crossed the equatorial region, and overspread the shores of the great Lakes, and the banks of the Zambesi.

The Kaffirs in the south-eastern region of Africa form three chief ethnological groups; which are, first the Amaxosa, now located in British-Kaffraria or the Trans-Kei territory, and including the Galekas and Gaikas, the Tembus, and the Pondos of St. John's River; secondly, the Basutos, who inhabit the inland



and upland country behind the Kathlamba or Drakensberg range ; and thirdly, the Zulus, who are nearly equal in numbers to all the others put together. The Zulus, amounting to at least six hundred thousand, are in these days about equally divided between those living under British rule in the province of Natal, and those constituting the independent native kingdom, to the north of Natal, over which Ketchwhyho is still reigning.

The Kaffir branch of the great Bantu race of Africa has a linguistic token of distinction in the use of the plural prefix "Ama," or for the sake of euphony, "Aba," to the name of each particular nation or group of tribes, to denote their collective identity ; thus, "Ama-Zulu," "Ama-Mpondo," "Ama-Gcaleka," "Ama-Gquika" (written by us Galekas and Gaikas) ; whereas other nations dwelling in the interior use "Be," or "Ba," as Bechuana and Basuto ; and those on the Zanzibar coast describe themselves collectively as "Wa," for example the Wa-nyamwezi. But their affinity is proved by many common forms of speech. The tribes on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, dwelling formerly between the Keiskamma and the Bashee rivers, were Gaikas and Galekas, who belong to the Amaxosa group, and who derive their names, in each case, from a renowned ancient chief, the head

of the clan ; but the clan of Gaika is an offshoot from that of Galeka, which is regarded as the purest and most primitive of the Amaxosa Kaffirs. Its late hereditary ruler, Kreli, was a native prince of the noblest royal African lineage ; and in his person, scarcely a twelvemonth since, the whole fabric of Kaffir aristocracy and inherited political dignity has been smitten. This important event will have to be related among the occurrences immediately preceding the outbreak of the present Zulu war, as it was probably the cause of general alarm and disturbance to all Kaffir chiefs and their dependents throughout South Africa.

Another very recent transaction of the British Government, which may have also contributed to the sullen mood of King Ketchwhy and the hardly suppressed agitation of Kaffirland, took place at the conclusion of the late war. This was the peremptory annexation of Pondo Land, the fertile and beautiful shore, to the south of Natal, on both banks of the St. John's or Umzimvubu river. The Pondos were not indeed highly esteemed by the other Kaffir nations ; but the act of reducing them to immediate subjection to British rule, in accordance with Sir Bartle Frere's scheme of policy, has excited much uneasiness along the other parts of our colonial border. These circum-

stances are here mentioned in advance to show why it is needful for me to speak of the Kaffirs and Kaffir warfare in general, as well as of the Zulus.

According to historians, early in the seventeenth century a great Kaffir emigration set in from the north-eastern parts of South Africa to the regions now known as Kaffir Land. The origin of these nations is doubtful. Many writers have recognized in the habits and character of the Kaffir some traits of the Arab; notably in his nomad existence, his addiction to polygamy, and his practice of the rite of circumcision; above all, his proud, imperious disposition and warlike instincts have been noticed as clear evidence of Bedouin blood. The word "Kaffir" itself is attributed to the Arabian word "Kafr," meaning a waste; but is applied by Moslem nations generally to the heathen of Africa as well as of Asia, and was adopted in this sense on the Mozambique coast, the Portuguese borrowing it from the Arab traders, to denote all the natives of Eastern South Africa. These so-called "Kaffirs," as I have said, began to press southwards, approaching the Cape, two or three hundred years ago. The Bushmen and Hottentots gave way before this invasion as the stronger naturally ousted the weaker.

One race alone, so far as native traditions bear

witness, then peopled the hills and plains of Kaffraria. Pondo, Tembu, Gaika, and Galeka all originally owned the sway of one chief. But each chief, at an advanced age, chose one amongst his numerous wives whose son should be his successor; this was his "great wife." By virtue of this selection her son became heir to the chief's place. To this son the whole tribe bears the most sacred allegiance; none but those connected with him by royal blood can succeed him at his death.

This law of succession lies at the root of the repeated failures of our native policy. Treaty after treaty has been broken; and this not necessarily from bad faith on the part of the individual chief. For instance, in 1817, when Gaika was recognized as paramount chief of Kaffirland by Lord Charles Somerset, he was vassal of the great reigning House, that of Galeka, and therefore had no right to the authority with which he was vested. Though his brother chiefs appeared to acquiesce for the time in the arrangement, they were no sooner beyond the power of the troops than they evinced their discontent and retaliated by fresh outrages. This necessitated reprisals on our part, in which large herds of cattle were taken. The Kaffir loves his cattle better than his life. This led to the war of 1820. The fact is,

the chief's power of restraint over his subjects is almost at zero. He is all-powerful for evil, but most impotent for good. He can invite his subjects to rebellion, or lead them on to bloodshed and rapine, but in curbing their unlawful desires or restraining their predatory habits, his authority is of the weakest ; and this will explain why many treaties made with the chiefs might as well have been made with the winds.

Now, the great wife being selected, the chief then chooses a right-hand wife. On the death of the chief the eldest son of this wife receives a portion of the title, and with it moves off and forms a new tribe independent of the parent community, but bound to assist it in time of difficulty. Thus a network of relationship is formed and spreads out over the length and breadth of the land, tending in time of war to general conflagration.

In 1652, whilst these hordes were pouring into the southern territory, a Dutch East India ship touched at the Cape, and in a few years Europeans were marching with irresistible steps towards the northern frontiers. In 1702, the vanguard of the races met, and the Kaffirs retreated : Graaf Reinet was then the limit of the colony. The oppressive conduct of the Dutch Boers soon compelled them to flee into the

interior. At this period, those early settlements were almost relapsing into a state of barbarism. They were without the means of education for their children, and their only object in life was the herding of cattle and the obtaining of land. Until the arrival of the English settlers, in 1820, the Boer was the only type of European with which the native had come into contact. In 1783, these colonists had reached the banks of the Great Fish River. By that time the Dutch had become hated by the native tribes; and even now after the lapse of a whole century that feeling is not yet extinct. Both the Dutch Boer and the English settler of the present day have to suffer vicariously for the sins of their predecessors.

In 1815 Great Britain finally obtained possession of the Cape Colony in exchange for certain West India Islands. The Great Fish River was then the boundary. The tribes on the Borders very soon commenced their depredations.

The reason of these Kaffir thefts lies deep in their customs. Cattle were the ever fruitful source of mischief. The chiefs having no settled revenues were in the habit of supplying any deficiency by the summary spoliation of their subjects on various pretexts; of these witchcraft was the most common. In this way the prosperous Kaffir was always fixed upon.

Without any evidence or trial the decree at once went forth against him, and he was "eaten up" forthwith. No hope was then left him but to plunder in his turn. Again, to obtain a wife the Kaffir must pay his dowry to the father in cattle. So the indigent Kaffir looked to cattle as the means of establishing himself in life ; and plunder was the result.

Thus, when the chief who wished to keep to his treaty obligations issued his commands to his subjects, he found that they were set at defiance ; until, looking with dismay at the excesses which were committed whatever his efforts might be to repress them, he began in course of time to hate the sight of Europeans, whose property was to his people a temptation to plunder, being always in fear of the retribution it would draw upon him at our hands.

In 1809 the Kaffirs, from committing depredations, began to intrude upon the land within the Border, and the first British force was sent against them. This was our first actual collision with the natives ; and now came that burning question, another fatal cause of all our disputes in time to come ; I mean, the Kaffirs' grudge against us for occupying the land, and their dread of further encroachments.

This tribal system of the Kaffirs is incompatible with all progress, and it has just now received its

death blow in Kaffraria by the overthrow of the last powerful chief in that part of South Africa. I have alluded to the first Kaffir war. The result of it was to drive the Kaffir from his old boundary of the Great Fish River to the Keiskamma, and again in successive wars from the Keiskamma still further on the banks of the Kei River, until the last war in 1878 has now completed our conquests in that direction. Gaika and Galeka now alike own our sway, whilst their tribal system has been broken and disorganized.

It is time however that I should give an account more particularly of the Zulu branch of the great Kaffir race, inhabiting a country several hundred miles distant from the old frontier of the Cape Colony.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE ZULUS, UNDER CHAKA AND DINGAAN.

Origin of the Zulu Nation, and its growth by conquests.—The South African "Celestials," or "Heaven-born."—Chaka, their Founder.—His birth and education.—Resolves to be an African Napoleon Buonaparte.—Conceives an Imperial policy.—Creates an Army.—Conquers his world.—Indulges his pride and cruelty.—Invades British Kaffraria.—Fails in expedition to Delagoa Bay.—Is put to death.—Despotism tempered by fratricide.—Tyranny of Dingaan.—Dealings with the British at Durban.—With the Dutch settlers in Natal.—That territory then vacant.—Pieter Retief at the Zulu King's Court.—The stolen cattle regained.—Second Dutch embassy.—Dingaan's murderous treachery.—Slaughter of his visitors.—The Rev. Mr. Owen.—Massacre of the Dutch at Weenen, the "Place of Weeping."—Gert Maritz.—Pietermaritzburg.—Dutch and English fighting against Dingaan.—His overthrow, by the aid of Panda.—Revolution in Zulu Land.

THE name of Zulus, like the name of the Romans, originated with a small local community in a particular district ; it was spread by war and conquest, and by its consequent adoption or imposition among the conquered tribes till it soon covered a hundred times the number of its primitive owners, and extended over a tolerably large empire. That dominion, though for a few years only, in the early part of the nineteenth century, held in bondage and in terror all the seaward

or eastern portion of the region I have described, from the land of the Swazies, to the north, approaching Delagoa Bay, down to the banks of the St. John, the land of the Pondos, in British Kaffraria. The present kingdom of Zulu Land is about one quarter of its former extent, while the Zulu nation, as I have said, is now divided, half its people dwelling under British government. How such changes were brought about is to be shown in two or three chapters.

“Zulu,” in the native language, is a word signifying “Heaven,” and was probably adopted by the glorious conquering tribe at the outset of its victorious career. It is as much as to say, “We, the Celestials.” Their history begins with the exploits of Chaka, who was born in the year 1787; he was the son of Usenzangacona, who was the son of Jama, who, as some genealogists say, was the son of Umakeba, but others say, of Umbuzi, and both these were sons of Upunga; but I can trace their lineage back no farther. Usenzangacona was only the chief of a petty tribe dwelling on the sea-coast between the Umvolosi and Umlatusi rivers, but he was lord of nearly thirty wives and about two hundred children. Among these was the Lady Umnandi, with her boy Chaka. She incurred the jealousy or other displeasure of her husband, and fled from him to Uding-

iswayo, chieftain of the Umtetwa, a neighbouring tribe on the coast to the north-east. Chaka was educated, by this chieftain's orders, under the care of one of his Indunas, or magistrates, named Ungomana. The young man learnt all the Kaffir accomplishments becoming a prince and warrior; but he is said also to have fallen in with some English sailors, who had been cast ashore in St. Lucia Bay. These men told him of the famous deeds of Napoleon the Great, then at the height of his prosperity and power in Europe. Young Chaka listened attentively, and resolved to become the African Napoleon Buonaparte. I am not sure whether he ever heard of Julius Cæsar or Alexander the Great, but the effect, I fancy, would have been all the same upon his mind. It was henceforth inflamed with military ambition, to which he was enabled to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives. Savage as he was, it was from European modern example that he got this lesson.

Upon the death of his father, old Usenzangacona, the aspiring hero of Zulu chivalry, being twenty-five years of age, went in for succession to the chieftainship. He had first to turn out his half-brother Usingujana, and then began to reign with a vengeance. A large portion of the Umtetwa, desiring a more warlike policy than that of their own ruler,

voluntarily joined themselves to the Zulu tribe. Chaka presently sallied forth at its head, conquering and to conquer. His idea was not perhaps, in those early days, to be an Attila or Tamerlane, a mere destroyer and waster of mankind. Indeed, he knew no more of those historical personages than of the others above mentioned ; but the empire of his great contemporary, Napoleon I., had been created, he was told, by compelling men of different nations, Belgians, Germans, and Italians, to become French citizens. So Chaka proceeded, while defeating and subduing one tribe after another, to oblige them all to take the name of Zulu, and to form part of the new compact and rigidly governed nation, over which he ruled. The people of various tribes were divided, mixed up together, allotted and distributed here and there, with consummate statecraft, to efface their original connections. Fifty or sixty different tribes were thus dealt with in the course of Chaka's reign ; there are about forty of these which have been resuscitated, to a certain amount, by collecting their survivors under British protection in the Natal territory.

The whole manhood of the fast-growing Zulu nation was employed in compulsory martial service ; and fresh occasions for its use were incessantly sought and seized upon. He created an Imperial guard of

twelve or fifteen thousand prime warriors, who were kept always ready, at an hour's notice, to march fifty miles in any direction without a halt, and to "eat up" a town, a chief, or a tribe in two or three days. He built numerous fortified kraals, to be occupied as permanent camps by as many regiments of his army. The troops were sedulously drilled, by the advice, perhaps, of Chaka's European acquaintances, in a system of manœuvres not before practised by African soldiery, which I have more particularly described in my chapter on Zulu tactics and other Kaffir warfare compared in their manner. Chaka succeeded, by these well-devised measures, in creating the most formidable military power that has been wielded, in modern times, by any native African potentate.

I should not put before my readers a very agreeable narrative, if I were to relate the particulars of this great monarch's wars and conquests from 1813 to 1828, shedding rivers of blood all over the countries east of the Drakenberg, and from the Limpopo in the north to the Umzimvubu, or St. John's in the south; devastating the lands of the Swazies and Amatonga in one direction; in the other, Natal, Basuto Land, and Pondo Land, besides the eastern districts of the Transvaal and Orange River territories. There were few or no Europeans at that time in any of those parts; as

for the natives, they were destroyed wholesale, except those who could be driven up like herds of captured cattle, to augment the tyrant's hosts of military slaves in Zulu Land. The entire country of Natal was found quite empty of its former population in 1837, when the Dutch Boers came down there after crossing the Drakensberg from the Orange Sovereignty, as I shall relate presently. Chaka's motto was "Thorough" in the magnanimous work of violence, cruelty, and rapacity, which he considered to be his mission as a heaven-born or "Zulu" ruler of mankind.

In the year 1825, when Mr. Nathaniel Isaacs visited the Zulu Kingdom, Chaka had some talk with him, inquiring about the state of political affairs in Europe and other parts of the world. Having been told something of the extent of British dominion, and the overthrow of the French empire of Napoleon at Waterloo ten years before, this half-naked barbarian complacently remarked, "Yes, I see now, there are only two great chiefs in all the earth; my brother, King George—he is King of all the Whites; and I, Chaka, I am King of all the Blacks."

Mr. Isaacs gained so much of his confidence as to receive a sort of grant of all the territory in Natal he might wish to take for himself and his party of missionary and industrial settlers. But in visiting

the Court of Chaka, whose principal residence was at a Zulu town called Utukasa, on the Umvoti, within the present Natal boundary, Mr. Isaacs witnessed some dreadful instances of cruelty. Upon one occasion, he says, a hundred and seventy boys and girls were slaughtered for some offence committed by their parents against the King's most gracious majesty. Chaka himself began, with his own hands, by dragging forward several of the lads, and ordering their necks to be twisted, and others to be beaten to death. This went on two days, after which the king finished his entertainment by feasting and dancing with his courtiers and favourite soldiers. One of his palaces had its name changed to Umbulale, the "Place of Slaughter," to commemorate the fact of his there putting to death a whole regiment of married soldiers, with their wives and children, because they had been defeated in a battle.

This amiable and respectable example of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong" is certainly entitled to a grand place in history; but his reign and life, however "Zulu," or "Celestial," had to come to an end. The termination of his career was characteristic and troublesome. He marshalled all his forces in 1828, compelling some of the European settlers in Natal to join him, for an expedition to the south-west,

beyond the Umzimkulu and Umzimvubu, against Faku, king of the Amapondo nation. As usual in the campaigns of Chaka, he came, he saw, he conquered, pushing on as far as the Bashee, which was the boundary of the British Kaffrarian protectorate. This caused a great alarm in the east provinces of the Cape Colony, and the Governor hastily sent forth a company of our regular troops, with some of the militia Burghers, and several thousand of our native allies the Tembus, to stop the Zulu army in the Trans-Kei. Now the Zulu King had made short work of ravaging and harrying the land of the Pondos and Bomvanas, since their king had prudently withdrawn to the adjacent highlands. Chaka was already marching homewards in high triumph, with immense spoil of captured oxen and cows, when the British and Colonial force was out looking for him. This force, accidentally meeting with a fugitive tribe of innocent people, the Amangwana, who were driving their own herds, of nearly 20,000 beasts altogether, to a place of safety, mistook them for the hostile Zulus, and attacked them instantly. It is lamentable to record that several hundred lives of not unfriendly Kaffirs were lost by this unhappy error, while their cattle, speedily driven off by our native auxiliaries, could not afterwards be restored.



King Chaka meantime returned, with his mighty army, to his ordinary residence on the Umvoti; whence he immediately despatched another military expedition, but the opposite way. It was to attack his northern neighbour, Usoshengane, towards the shore of Delagoa Bay. The Zulu troops, in a campaign of two months, suffered greatly from disease in that most unhealthy country, as well as from hunger and fatigue, and exposure to summer rains. Their ill success put Chaka in such a royal rage, that he decided to punish the disgraced soldiery by murdering some two thousand of the wives they had left at home. This massacre of women actually began, at the rate of three hundred daily, before the remnant of the army, reduced to one-third of its former strength, was on the return march. Among the victims were the wives of two of the king's brothers, who held command in that unlucky expedition. Upon their arrival home, in the month of September, Dingaan and Umhlangane, the princes in question, resolved to depose or assassinate their august relative, as his sublime ferocity had by this time excited the indignation of all his subjects. They conspired with others, among whom his confidential servant, Umbopa, having unsuspected access to the royal person, undertook to perform the deed. The blow was struck on Sep-

tember 23, 1828, by the hand of Umbopa, with the ready assistance of the king's brothers, and several malcontent nobles or courtiers. Such was the fate of this South African Alexander and Zulu Napoleon, whose renown is still cherished by the lovers of martial prowess among his countrymen of the present generation. He was little above forty years of age, and had reigned but fourteen, in which brief space of time he had founded a powerful native dynasty, and raised the Zulu nationality, almost a creation of his own, to the highest military and political importance. Truly, Chaka had not lived in vain!

The enviable succession to this illustrious monarch at once became a natural cause of deadly strife between his affectionate brothers, Umhlangane and Dingaan. They lost no time in settling the matter by a duel, fought within the precincts of the royal palace, two or three days after the late king's decease and funeral. Dingaan killed the other, and was thereupon invested with the titles, dignity and authority of the Zulu King.

The reign of Dingaan, from 1828 to 1840, was of a different character, inasmuch as he did not pretend to be a very great warrior, or seek wide enterprises of foreign conquest. His domestic government was, indeed, cruelly tyrannical, and great numbers of his

miserable subjects fled the kingdom to escape its merciless laws, or the arbitrary rule of one who knew neither justice nor pity. Many thousands came into the Natal territory, where the British coast settlement of Durban was founded in 1835. With a view to obtain pardon for these distressed fugitives and restore them to their homes, the British local authorities made a treaty, by which Dingaan promised to let them return unmolested; but on the other hand it was stipulated by him that any future deserters from his kingdom should be sent back there. This was a grievous error, and the execution of the compact was a deed that reflects no slight disgrace, as Bishop Colenso has remarked, on the British name in Africa. Though nothing was said of their treatment by Dingaan, it was perfectly well known that the prisoners thus delivered into his hands would either have their brains knocked out with clubs, or be impaled, with the direst tortures, or be starved to death. A case is particularly described, in which a female of rank with her two servants, a man and woman, and three children, who had sought refuge in Natal, were given up to Dingaan, first the elders, afterwards the children, and were sent back across the frontier. The intolerable compact, however, was afterwards set aside. Natal has since absorbed a large portion of the Zulu

people, consisting, indeed, of the remnants of many tribes which had anciently belonged to that country, and had been removed elsewhere by Chaka. The frequent shifting of place, to and fro, at distances of several hundred miles, in the history of these pastoral native populations, has had a marked effect upon the condition of Africa. Their wealth being composed almost entirely of cattle, with a few simple utensils which are easily carried, and their houses of no costly or difficult construction, they can move readily enough wherever land is offered them. Natal has thus received, since it became British territory, an immigrant African population of at least three hundred thousand.

The events of Dingaan's time are closely associated with those passages of colonial history which I reserve for a later chapter ; but it is proper here to give some account of his detestable career, and of his conflicts with European settlers in Natal. He was not like Chaka, a great Napoleonic warrior and conqueror aspiring to gain universal dominion ; but a Machiavellian despot, who sought only to confirm his sway by destroying all foreign and domestic rivals, with the most insidious treachery and ruthless cruelty. It so happened that the first collision between Europeans and Zulus took place under the reign of Dingaan.

The emigrating Dutch Boers from the old Cape Colony, led by Pieter Retief and Gert Maritz, had in 1837 moved far northward beyond the Orange River and further beyond the Vaal, till their progress was stopped by a conflict with the Matabele, an offshoot of the Zulu nation, whose chief, Umsilikatze or Mosilikatze, had seceded ten years before from Chaka's kingdom. The Boers moreover found the northern districts of the Transvaal ill-adapted for their pastoral occupation ; they preferred to turn eastward, crossing the Drakensberg range of mountains, and descending into the Natal country. It was then little known to Europeans, though its coast had obtained that name from the Portuguese above three centuries before. The Dutch East India Company, in 1719, had endeavoured to form a settlement on that shore. In 1824, a proposal was made to the British colonial government of the Cape by Lieutenants Farewell and King, who had visited Natal, to take possession of the country, but this was declined. English Church missionaries, upon the recommendation of Captain Allen Gardiner, who had been in Zulu Land, were sent to the kingdom of Dingaan, with that monarch's permission. The first of these clergymen, the Rev. F. Owen, had recently taken up his abode at Umgungundhlovu, on the White Umvolosi river, at the beginning of the year 1838,

when the Dutchmen came down into the territory of Natal.

This territory was then considered part of the Zulu Empire created by Chaka, but scarcely any of its former native inhabitants were left. It was therefore proposed by the immigrant Boers to ask Dingaan for a grant of the vacant land, in return for a pledge of their constant alliance and assistance. Pieter Retief opened his negotiations, through Mr. Owen, with the Zulu King, and soon went forward to visit the royal court at Umgungundhlovu. That formidable name signifies, "The place of the trumpeting of the elephant," which is a figurative way of denoting the political capital, where the voice of the monarch, likened to the biggest of fierce beasts, was then wont to make himself heard. The palace of King Dingaan was neatly built, of a circular form, but not much more than twenty feet in diameter; it was supported in the interior by twenty-two pillars, ornamentally covered with beads. In the same fortified town, or kraal, there were nearly seventeen hundred houses or huts, each of which could accommodate twenty soldiers. Pieter Retief and his companions were hospitably and politely entertained. They beheld a grand military spectacle; the parade of the Royal Guards, four thousand veterans with ringed heads, bearing white

shields, and two thousand younger soldiers, with their black shields ; clattering upon these with knobby clubs or " kerries," and wildly bounding through a mazy war-dance, in which their ranks were mingled with those of a drove of beautiful oxen and heifers, to represent the spoils of warfare ; all perfectly arranged, though in seeming tumult of battle. Such was the pomp and circumstance of glorious Royalty, in the proud reign of Chaka and at the commencement of Dingaan's, among the Zulu nation.

King Dingaan, after some days, had a business conversation with the worthy Dutchman, while Mr. Owen acted as interpreter and secretary. He was told of the injuries which the Boers in the Transvaal had suffered from the Zulu rebel chief Mosilikatze, and from the Matabele, who were mostly refugees out of Chaka's kingdom, their name in Zulu being " those who have disappeared." Of course, the great Zulu potentate declared his intention to pursue and chastise those rebels ; but he also told Retief that some people riding horses, wearing clothes, and carrying guns, had been guilty of stealing cattle belonging to himself. The Dutch leader earnestly denied this charge on the part of his own folk, and assured Dingaan that the Zulu cattle were to his knowledge in the possession of the Chief of the Mantatees, a tribe inhabiting the

uplands west of the Drakensberg, through which he and his followers had just passed. Dingaan then asked that the Boers, as the price of his friendship and of their settlement in Natal, should recover his stolen property for him, which Retief unwillingly promised to do. It was performed by the Dutchmen using an artifice to seize the person of the Mantatee Chief, and keeping him prisoner until the cattle were given up.

Having accomplished this service to the Zulu King, Pieter Retief now thought it time to receive the stipulated grant of title-deeds to the fair lands of Natal. He set forth, on the first day of February 1838, from the Boers' encampment of waggons on a southern branch of the Tugela, called the Bushman's River, upon his second journey to the capital of Zulu Land, which is about one hundred miles distant. Gert Maritz, it is said, felt some doubts of the Zulu King's honest intentions, and would have preferred sending only two or three messengers to convey the embassy. Pieter Retief, however, thought fit to make an imposing show, and took with him sixty or seventy of the Boers, well mounted and armed, with thirty Hottentot servants, led horses and baggage. They arrived at the court of Dingaan, and were again received with much civility; the King expressing his satisfaction with the Boers for having



got back his stolen cattle from the Mantatees. He once more exhibited the barbaric parade of his army in a war-dance, and professed in return to admire the horsemanship of the Boers, and their skill in using their fire-arms, which they showed off in the customary exercises of their troop. With regard to the business they had come to conclude, he made no further difficulty, but instructed Mr. Owen, as scribe, to write out a formal charter freely granting to the Dutch settlers all the country between the Tugela, which is still the Natal frontier river, and the Umzimvubu, in Kaffraria, the full extent of the present British province. All matters seemed to have been harmoniously agreed upon, and the Dutchmen were to live in perpetual peace and prosperity on this eastern shore of South Africa, which had been neglected or even positively rejected by the British government of the Cape Colony. But they had reckoned not indeed without their savage host, but with too great reliance upon his integrity; and this mistake was to cost them dear.

When the diplomatic business was finished, and Pieter Retief with his comrades was about to depart from Umgungundhlovu, to return to their fellow-countrymen in the Natal territory, which was henceforth to be held as their own, Dingaan affectionately

entreated them to stay with him one day longer. He wished to give them a farewell party, with a very peculiar solemn dance and choral song of his expert court servitors and valiant body-guards, which they had not yet witnessed. He was so fond of the noble white men, and so much obliged to them for getting his lost bullocks and cows from the rascally Mantatees! They must not quit his palace in such a hurry. Pieter Retief, stout-hearted, frank and brave, consented to stay for this final Zulu entertainment. On the fatal morning of the 6th of February, two of the leading men of the Dutch party breakfasted with Mr. Owen and his wife and sister, when they expressed their confident belief in the King's friendly disposition. The English clergyman was invited to be present at the festivity of that day, but chose to stay in his own house, studying the New Testament. The whole company of unsuspecting Dutchmen were admitted within the enclosure of the King's Kraal, leaving their guns, with their horses, in charge of the Hottentots outside. They found his Majesty seated in the centre of a large circle formed by Zulu soldiery of the highest rank, equipped in warlike array, with plumes of feathers on their heads and breasts, and with their shields, assegais, and knob-kerries, ready to perform the usual

mimic feats of the battle-dance. The King pleasantly saluted his guests, bade them sit beside him on the ground, had them served with Zulu beer, and gave the signal for a preliminary dance round and round the place, going ever faster and faster, while the brandished weapons overhead, as the linked circle of savage warriors drew closer and closer to its middle point of space, had a fantastically terrible effect on the doomed spectators' minds. At length, suddenly springing to his feet, Dingaan exclaimed in a fierce and angry tone, "Bambani Batagati!" or, "Seize the accursed wizards!" for such in the view of Zulu criminal law is the character of all heinous and malignant criminals. The soldiers instantly laid hands upon every one of the sixty or seventy white men, who were unarmed, and dragged them out of the King's palace, while Dingaan coolly sent a message to the Rev. Mr. Owen, telling him "not to be frightened, as he was going to kill the Boers." That gentleman, a minute or two afterwards, heard a fearful clamour on the hill directly opposite his abode, which was partly screened from view by his waggon in front of the hut. It was the customary place of execution for malefactors and prisoners of war, and for slaves, women, and others, slain as an expiatory sacrifice to the objects of heathen superstition.

"There," some one said to Mr. Owen, "they are killing the Boers now!" He went forward, and saw the hill side thronged with a great multitude, each of the hapless Dutchmen in the custody of nine or ten Zulus, who brought them in succession up to be slaughtered, their brains dashed out with the war-club, and their bodies speared ere they fell to the ground. Such was the farewell entertainment of brave Pieter Retief and his honest comrades, simple Dutch emigrant yeomen or Border farmers, at the court of the Zulu King.

As for our countryman the Church missionary, he was presently sent for to the King's palace, and was told that he and the two ladies of his family might go in safety. They hastened the same day to leave that abode of cruelty, Umgungundhlovu, and joined the other English families in Natal, who went down to the sea-port, and there waited till the "Comet" brig was sent round to take them away. A few men stayed on the coast to see what would become of the infant European settlements.

Dingaan was resolved to root these out of the earth, and to scatter the bones of their founders over the devastated fields they had laid out in vain. He lost not a moment in sending forth legions of his soldiery, the expeditious "travellers" of the Zulu army, to

pounce upon every Dutch hamlet of fresh-built huts, or encampment of newly-arrived waggons, and to massacre all that lived under their shelter. The principal station of their community, as I have said, was on the banks of the Bushman's River, at a place which is now the chief town of an important district. It bears the sorrowful Dutch name of Weenen, that is to say, "Weeping," in the ancient Hebrew fashion bestowed on that site of a grievous affliction by the Bible-loving Dutch people. There it was that the Zulus, falling upon the aged, the infirm, and feeble, the women and children of the community, as the best of its adults and strong men were already cut off with Pieter Retief, found an easy prey. The number of Europeans there slaughtered was 366, besides some 250 of their coloured servants. Gert Maritz, second to Retief in authority, was among those who died fighting in defence of his brethren. Their names are jointly commemorated to this day in that of the town or city of Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal.

It was the boast of the Zulu tyrant, by this atrocious deed of treachery and cruelty, to have exterminated the foreigners in his dominions south of the Tugela; and he ordered the heart and liver of the Dutch commander to be exposed at the gate of the metropolis,

with certain mystic rites and incantations, that no stranger might ever hereafter pass the same way. But the remnant of Dutchmen in Natal who had survived the first onslaught, here and there fortifying themselves in the "laager" formed by collecting waggons to enclose a square, with brushwood or thorn-bushes stuffed between and beneath, still defied the fury of their savage foe. They were reinforced by some of their own nation from the Orange River and the Vaal, while the few Englishmen on the sea-coast were ready to join in a war that seemed needful for their own security. Its fortunes were for some time uncertain or adverse; in the month of April, a "commando" of 400 mounted men, who boldly rode into the enemy's country, and attacked the capital, suffered a disastrous repulse. A party of eighteen or twenty Englishmen, with thirty Hottentots and a great mob of native allies, went upon an expedition to carry off some of the cattle of Zulu Land; they were defeated, and only four or five of the English got back alive. Then King Dingaan marched his army into the Natal country, across the Lower Tugela, and laid waste all the grounds planted or sown, and burnt every house or hut at the missionary station, as well as other settlements; but their inhabitants had fled beyond his reach, and most of them had sailed to the Cape. He returned to Zulu

Land after some months, and the arrival of a small force of British troops, before the end of 1838, put the port of Natal in safety.

The Dutchmen, however, did not intend to relinquish their hold on the country. Under the able management of Andries Pretorius, they resumed the war in 1839, when domestic treason in the Zulu kingdom afforded them a powerful ally. This ally was Prince Panda, a brother of King Dingaan, and not less eager to supplant the reigning monarch than Dingaan had been, ten or twelve years before, to get upon the throne of his elder brother Chaka. He had the command of 4000 of the best Zulu fighting men, whom he led to desert the King's standard, at a critical moment of the campaign early in the next year; the Dutch force was thereby allowed to push far into the heart of the kingdom, and to encamp on the Black Umvolosi. In February, 1840, Dingaan was utterly defeated and his power destroyed; he was soon arrested and put to death by the partisans of his brother, and Panda, with the assistance of the Boers, to whom he confirmed the territorial grant of Natal, was enabled to ascend the Zulu throne. The policy of his long reign, which lasted from 1840 to 1872, when he was succeeded by his son Ketchwhy, was of a pacific character, giving no cause of offence or

alarm to his European neighbours. This will be the subject of a future chapter.

The national pride of warlike supremacy and lust of conquest, which had been excited by the victories of Chaka, then seemed to give place to milder sentiments. It is within the recollection of many of my present readers, that Christian missionary enterprise looked with peculiar hopefulness upon the Zulus, as a docile, intelligent, and rather amiably disposed people. The appointment of Dr. Colenso to the Bishopric of Natal, and his report of a first visit to that country in 1853, awakened considerable interest among English churchmen in the prospects of moral elevation for this race; while Zulu Land itself has also been occupied by Swedish, or Norwegian, and other Protestant foreign missions. But I shall speak by-and-by of the condition of the Zulus at a recent period, first of those located in the British province of Natal, and secondly, of those in Ketchwhy's kingdom, subject to the native laws and institutions. It is well, in the meanwhile, to bid the reader observe that Chaka's and Dingaan's régime of bloodthirsty ferocity, the most horrible features of which I have forbore to present in this chapter—for instance, the hideous ceremonial of massacre at the funeral of Chaka's mother—belongs to past history. Considerable changes have indeed



been introduced, during the last thirty or forty years, in the spirit and procedure of Zulu native government. To the faithful counsel and good moral influence of some Englishmen, holding official positions of authority in Natal, this beneficial progress hitherto has been mainly ascribed.

Before continuing the outline of Zulu history, through the unwarlike reign of Panda, I think it will be expedient to describe the constitution of the Zulu army, its organisation, equipment, and tactics in the field, bringing this account down to the present day, when it has suddenly been put in collision with the British military forces in South Africa. The previous experiences of Kaffir warfare had been of such a different character, that a comparison may be found not wholly devoid of practical instruction ; so at least it appears to myself, from personal recollections of what I have seen in that kind of service.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ZULU TACTICS AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION COMPARED WITH OTHER KAFFIR WARFARE.

Composition of the Zulu Army.—Equipment and weapons.—Mode of fighting, different from that of Frontier Kaffirs.—Tactics and manœuvres.—Kaffir stratagems, feints, and decoys.—Zulu final rush and close combat.—How the Boers and Griquas deal with them.—The Boers' waggon laager.—Incumbrance of cattle.—“The Snob of all Wars.”

THE Zulu army, putting it at the lowest figure, is said to consist of 40,000 fighting men. In addition to these there are two Royal regiments, each having its own military kraal or head-quarters. Five of these corps consist of single regiments, the others being an amalgamation of several. They contain men of all ages, married and unmarried. Some of these are quite old men, whilst others are mere lads. Each of these regiments is divided into wings. These wings are again subdivided into companies of an average strength of fifty men. Each corps has a commanding officer and a wing officer; there are likewise company officers, viz., a captain with from one to three subalterns. The uniform, if such it can be called, differs in each regi-

ment. The married men, for instance, shave the centre of the head and wear the ring. This ring is made of sedge formed into a sort of coronet. Over this the hair is most ingeniously plastered by means of a glutinous substance which they get from the leaves of the mimosa tree and which is, I believe, the production of the larvæ of some insect. This ring when well manipulated has all the appearance of a band of solid leather. The unmarried men wear the hair in its natural state. The former are further distinguished by white or parti-coloured shields, the latter by their carrying black shields. The laws with regard to marriage are most despotic in that country. No one, male or female, can marry without the permission of the King. On the average, soldiers do not marry until they are forty years of age.

A short account of the peculiarities of the different regiments of which this unique army is composed may be interesting, and is here given. I must premise, in order that its constitution may be properly understood, that as a regiment grows old it is usually recruited by other regiments, so that the youths may have the opportunity given them of benefiting by the experience of their elders. This is how it is that corps get in time to be some thousands strong. There are five corps which are now formed of one sole regiment,

which has gradually absorbed that to which it was affiliated. The Usixepi corps, of which the original levy has all but died out, the age of the survivors being eighty, is one of those raised by Chaka; but on the principle just stated this corps now consists almost wholly of the Nokenke regiment, whose name in English means the Dividers, and which was raised by King Panda. The age of these men is stated at thirty. Their shields are mostly black; a large number, however, are black and white. This corps musters 2000, and its men are distinguished by a band of leopard's skin or sometimes otter-skin round the forehead with two plumes of the Kaffir finch on the head pointing backwards, ear-flaps of green monkey-skin, and bunches of white cow-tails hanging from the neck down the chest and back. The principal men wear a short kilt of civet and green monkey-skin, tied round the waist and descending half-way to the knee. The Mhēhele, whose nominal age is 78, though composed chiefly of a younger regiment, Umhlanga, (the Reeds) wear green monkey-skins, white cow-tails, leopard band, and bunch of black ostrich feathers in front of the head, surmounted by a few white plumes; they number 1000. The 3rd corps, Umlambongwenya (Alligator River) age of men seventy-five, was replaced by Umxapu (Sprinklers) whose age is thirty-five,

numbering 2000. The 4th corps, Udukuza (Wanderers) are only 500 : the 5th corps, Bulamayo (The Place of Killing) number 1000. The Udhlam-bedhlu (Ill-tempered) sixty-eight years old, are derived from two corps, the Ngwekwe (Crooked-stick), and the Ngulubi (Pigs) 1500 ; all married men, from fifty-three to fifty-five, carrying the white shield, with white or red spots. A crack corps is the Inkulutwane (Straight Lines) derived from three regiments, the men being all veterans from thirty-five to sixty-four ; numbering 2500. The Undabakaombi, aged fifty-five, number 1000. The Isanqu include the largest regiment in the Zulu army, viz., the Undi, of King Ketchwhy's own raising, with a military kraal of its own. This corps includes also the Royal regiments Akonkone (Blue Gum) ; Ndhlonhlo (Euphorbia) ; Indluyengwe (Leopard's Den) ; and Nkobamakosi or (Bender of Rings). The strength of this corps, composed of picked men from twenty-three to forty-five, is 6000. In glancing over the names of Basuto chiefs and other savage commanders of Zulu regiments it is ominously significant to meet here and there some name more familiar to our ears ; Manzini for instance is evidently not Zulu ! This is possibly some half-caste or white desperado who has accepted service under King Ketchwhy. To complete our summary,

we have again the corps Udhloko (The Snake) age forty, 2500 men ; who add to the usual costume one long feather of the blue crane. The Umbonambi (Evil Seers) thirty-two, number 1500. Attached to these are the Amashutu (Loiterers) 500, making a total of 2000. The Umcitu (Sharp-pointed), 2500, include the Ungakamatye or Stonecatchers, numbering 500. The name Umcitu is taken from a stick sharpened at both ends, because during the quarrel between Ketchwhyoy and his brother some of the men composing the corps took one side and some another. The Umzinyati and line regiments, together 4000 men, also called Usindandhlovu (Weight of the Elephant) dwell in the kraal lately built by Ketchwhyoy. A regiment in course of formation, but with no military kraal, brings the practical strength, as already stated, of the Zulu army to upwards of 40,000. At an interval of from two to four years, all the young men up to fourteen or fifteen are formed into regiments. They are then given a year's probation, at the end of which time they are placed in a military kraal and either incorporated with other regiments, or composed as a new one.

These regiments, as I have shown, are occasionally some thousands strong. The Zulu army requires little commissariat or transport on the march ; three or four

days' provisions in the shape of maize or millet, and a herd of cattle proportionate to the distance which has to be traversed, accompany each regiment. The provisions, sleeping mats, and blankets, are carried by lads who follow each regiment and assist in driving the cattle. The officers march immediately in rear of their men, and constant communication is kept up by runners. During an engagement a large body of troops is kept as a reserve. The commander and staff retire to some eminence, and retain one or two of the older regiments as an extra reserve. They are armed with fire-arms of various kinds and patterns, from muskets and old Enfields up to the arms of precision of the present day. Each man carries a certain number of throwing assegais, generally three or four, but every soldier, as a *sine qua non*, is provided with a short heavy-bladed assegai, which is always reserved for close quarters, and never parted with, it being punishable with death even to leave it on the field of battle. The origin of its first institution by Chaka is thus stated. In early times the Zulus, like our Eastern Frontier Kaffirs, were armed with throwing assegais or javelins, of which they carried a bundle into the field; but Chaka, Dingaan's predecessor, tried an experiment. He armed one regiment with sticks, representing a short stout stabbing assegai, something like a Roman sword used dagger-

wise, and another regiment with sticks representing the throwing assegai. These two regiments were then ordered to engage in mock combat, and after a certain time the King sent his councillors to count how many body-marks as representative of wounds each man had received ; and when it was reported to him that the men armed with the stabbing assegai had only one or two marks each, but that the others were covered with marks (simply because after throwing one or two sticks, they were run in upon by the others and stabbed *ad libitum*), Chaka ordained that the invariable arm of the Zulu warrior in future should always be the stabbing assegai in one hand and a shield in the other. Their full efficiency, however, has been further promoted by the irrefragable law that the Zulus shall charge in columns, and the hind ranks be always ready to rush on over the men of the front ranks if they fall, on pain of death to every survivor on returning home. It is told how on one occasion Dr. Andrew Smith had taken two Zulu emissaries from Mosilikatse to see a review of the 72nd regiment on the parade ground at Cape Town. These two dark captains were no doubt, it was thought, likely to be much impressed with the regularity and precision of the manœuvres exhibited. But when Dr. Smith, who had gained their confidence, asked them what



they would do if they had to fight these magnificently appparelled and perfectly armed Highlanders, they replied with a sardonic chuckle that they should just wait until they got them into difficult ground, and then would suddenly rush in upon them from both sides at once with their shields and stabbing assegais and stab every man before he could load his musket a second time. Alas ! something like this was exactly realized with the poor 24th regiment just forty-three years after that announcement of Zulu tactics. The reports are so conflicting that it is difficult to say what actually took place on that sad occasion ; but there is every reason to suppose that they followed the enemy, or were decoyed into broken ground, and were then run in upon at close quarters with stabbing assegais worked as quick as lightning by savages without any incumbrance of clothing to impede the activity of their movements.

It must be borne in mind that our troops at present employed in fighting the Zulus have now to oppose a totally different kind of foe, and meet entirely dissimilar tactics and weapons to those hitherto employed by the frontier Kaffirs with whom we have been at issue in former wars. The operations of the Kaffirs in the field have been no doubt influenced in a very great degree by the nature of the country in

which they fight. The Gaikas, for instance, before they were driven over the Kei by our victorious columns, defended themselves in the dense bush and scrub, which borders the Great Fish River and is to be found so densely covering the tract of country between that district and the Keiskamma. This cover they naturally availed themselves of largely ; indeed, they were always against appearing at all in the open Veldt, if they could avoid it. Like wise men they left that for us to do ! For our soldiers were just as averse to enter the bush, as they were to leave it. Nothing to this day is so difficult as to get our men into the scrub. When once an infantry soldier loses sight, if only for a moment, of his companions, he feels bewildered. He is accustomed to feel the touch of his next file. The British soldier is in fact a gregarious animal. He is taught to skirmish after a fashion ; that is, to stalk along in an upright position, with shoulders well kept back and body mathematically perpendicular, his eyes elevated heavenward, firing by word of command at nothing particular. Should he be directed to get under shelter, the unfortunate man is so tightly strapped and laden (the Kaffirs always called them pack oxen) that he can hardly avail himself of it ! While his enemy the wily Kaffir never exposes his

body needlessly, but carries the art of skirmishing to perfection. He can, if necessary, creep noiselessly along the ground, anxiously making for the shelter of some friendly ant-heap, or some little inequality in the ground. And in this extended position any trifling object that is sufficiently large to cover his head protects him from observation. You see the puff of smoke which follows the flash of his musket, but you have nothing to fire at in return. How adroitly he springs up when your bullet has whizzed harmlessly over his head, and how cunningly he strives to gain that little strip of brush on your flank unobserved, and seems almost to sink into the very earth when you discover him! Even when secreted behind a bush, he invariably jumps on one side a good yard after he fires, knowing that you will naturally aim at the spot where you last saw the explosion of his musket. All this time he is coolly potting away at his magnanimous foe, the unfortunate pipe-clay, who is bearing his greatcoat and field blanket as Christian did his sins in the Pilgrim's Progress, in an intolerable burden on his shoulders, steadfastly walking after the same Kaffir in the open plain bolt upright, as if on parade, giving the wily foe five shots for his one, and disdaining concealment. Then again, the frontier Kaffir never

attacked us unless it quite suited his purpose so to do ; that is until he had entangled us in some ambuscade or position which gave him every advantage. It was like chasing a Will o' the Wisp. He could always avoid an attack and lie perdu whilst we were breaking our hearts looking for him. As we drove him further and further over the Kei, so our task became easier. Now in Zulu Land there is a great scarcity of bush ; the country, though broken and rugged, especially near the coast, in the midland district has in many parts the look of downs, being composed of rolling sweeps of grass. And as a necessary consequence a different system of tactics has suggested itself to the Zulu Kaffirs. Concealment being difficult, the bold course was obviously the best. Chaka, the founder of the nation, was the first chief who attempted anything like military organization. To him is due the formation of the army into corps and regiments, the attack in column, and the change of tactics implied in the preference shown for the short stabbing assegai over the longer javelin made to be projected at a distance, thus compelling the combat *d'outrance* at close quarters. The very appearance of the massive column of dusky warriors advancing at speed to the attack, accompanied by the rattling of spears, and the rising and falling sounds

of the war song sounding in hoarse tones from so many thousand throats, is indeed of itself sufficient to strike awe into the hearts of their native enemies.

The attack commences at rifle or gun range, skirmishers being thrown out in advance. The columns are formed in regular order, often thirty or forty deep, with intervals of about four feet between the files. If it be possible, the attack is deferred until the enemy is inveigled, by clever manœuvring, into difficult ground. As the column nears, its centre is suddenly seen to retreat as if in flight, and indeed often goes straight to its rear. At the same moment the wings give ground also, bearing away to the right and left. Should the enemy follow and become broken in the pursuit, which is the object of the feint, the Zulu column speedily countermarches, turns at once to the right about, and doubles back in the form of a crescent upon the unsuspecting foe. The wings overlapping attack the enemy on both flanks simultaneously as well as in the rear; and the Zulus uttering their diabolical war cry, rush in with their stabbing assegais and shields, at close quarters. Should they be too many for their opponents no quarter is given, and their bloody work is soon ended.

The Zulu Kaffir, denied the shelter of the bush,

protects his body with the shield, its artificial substitute. These shields are made of great size and length, so as almost to cover the whole person; they are constructed of tough ox-hide, stretched over a framework of wood, and are pierced down the centre with eyelet holes in regular sequence. Protected by these they do not hesitate to run in and engage their enemies in a hand-to-hand encounter, their shields being sufficiently strong to resist the blade of their opponents' assegais, which are caught harmlessly on the surface, whilst the merciless short stabbing assegai is held in readiness for speedy retaliation.

Though the Zulus fight so boldly in the open country, ambushades and feints and decoys of various kinds often figure in their tactics in the field. Like the frontier Kaffir, they often leave cattle in exposed places; or else detached bodies of natives, who show themselves near dense thickets with the object of drawing on an attack. This attack inevitably brings down large masses of the Zulus from their retreats upon the unsuspecting foe. In the war of '51, our officers had many narrow escapes of being cut off in this manner, and notably in the Keiskamma bush, where Lieutenant Robertson of the Cape Mounted Rifles nearly lost his life. A short account of this affair will, perhaps, set the nature of these decoys

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more plainly before the reader, than a more general description. Lieutenant Robertson, then, had set out from the little camp which had been formed by a portion of the 73rd Regiment under Colonel Eyre, with a small force of Cape Mounted Rifles, and some levies, in the Keiskamma country. As he went along looking in the direction of the bush, Robertson perceived some Kaffir horses tied to a tree in the distance. Hastily calling together a few volunteers, consisting of some seven or eight Mounted Rifles and a few mounted levies under the command of a young officer of the name of Morris, quite a lad who had lately joined, he started off in pursuit accompanied, at the last moment, by Lieutenant and Adjutant Fletcher of the 73rd, who, being also mounted, joined the party, glad no doubt to escape for a time from the *ennui* of inaction. Poor fellow, he never returned alive. They galloped up to the bush, got the order to dismount, and were securing the horses when the war cry sounded in their ears, and in an instant the whole country was alive with Kaffirs. Overwhelmed by numbers, the little band retreated steadily, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Their line of retreat now led them to the brink of a steep ravine, down whose almost perpendicular sides the little party, dismounting, were obliged to lead their

horses, keeping up an incessant fire as they retreated, step by step, in the very faces of the Kaffirs. Here poor Fletcher received a shot in the right knee which brought him down, and he fell pierced with assegais. Robertson's horse was shot, and the young levy officer, Morris, badly wounded in the side with an assegai. The troop horse led by the young fellow being frightened, made his escape, and Morris, whose strength was rapidly failing him, was on the point of being captured, when Robertson had the good fortune to catch one of the dead Riflemen's horses, jumped on his back, and placing the young officer across his saddle, made his escape back to camp. The Kaffirs were heard yelling like demons after him, "Sons of Eno!" (It was in Stock's country,) "Seize him with your hands!" as they pressed round him, vainly endeavouring to stop his flight. In this ravine many of the little detachment fell; the remainder made their way up the other side of the ravine, and were still in full flight, when they fortunately fell in with our own column, which was patrolling within a short distance. That the mode of fighting in column, followed up by the irresistible fury of a last rush at close quarters, has been hitherto successful, and that it has led to the invariable defeat of their tribal enemies by the victorious Zulus, there can be little doubt. It was,



indeed, a cunning as well as cruel device of Chaka's, this substitution of the short stabbing assegai, for the much less formidable javelin formerly in use. It compelled the Zulu to fight hand-to-hand. Then, again, by Chaka's law, it was death or glory. Should the Zulu regiment return unsuccessful from the fray, no matter whether it had fought bravely or otherwise, the punishment for defeat was death. Whole regiments, consisting of some thousands of warriors, have been sacrificed—massacred in cold blood for the crime of defeat; nay, their very relations and friends were even put to death by this despotic monster of cruelty, merely because they had dared to remove the bodies of the slain for the purpose of giving them decent burial. Thus, the Zulu may be said to fight with a rope round his neck. He dares not fail, lest failure should bring worse punishment—death with dishonour. What wonder, then, that the appearance alone of these imposing masses has often been sufficient of itself to turn the tide of battle in their favour, as against the scattered ranks of their undisciplined enemies?

The Zulus are above everything else a military nation. How characteristic was that remark which the Zulu chief Pakade made to Bishop Colenso! The Bishop, after laboriously endeavouring to awaken the chief's attention to an interest in his attempted trans-

lation of the Lord's Prayer in Zulu, was suddenly pulled up by his eagerly impatient interruption and exclamation, "Yes! yes! that is all very good, but how do you make gunpowder?" King Ketchwhy's great grievance indeed since his accession to the throne has always been, that he was denied the customary privilege enjoyed from time immemorial by Zulu Kings of "washing his spears," i.e. laving them in the blood of his enemies!

The *esprit de corps* is never lost sight of in the case of Zulu warriors. All possible means are brought into play, with a view to keep them in a proper state of training and efficiency. Every festival and every grand ceremony or rejoicing is celebrated by a review and display of regiments. On these occasions, the soldiers are called upon to go through their exercises and manœuvres, and to exhibit their proficiency in martial movements, before the assembled chiefs and courtiers, whose plaudits stimulate them sometimes to a perfect pitch of frenzy.

That the Boers and the Griquas have both successfully opposed the tactics of the Zulus by the simple device of preventing them from coming to close quarters, has been often demonstrated, and this indeed seems the preferable way of getting the better of the savages. The Boers formed their waggon-trains into

laagers, that is, arranged their long waggons in a hollow square. Outside this barrier they piled up brushwood and mimosa thorn bushes, so as to form a species of stockade. Within this enclosure they took shelter with their families and cattle, leaving interstices here and there between the waggons to serve as loopholes. The Zulus came on as usual in masses, but could never succeed in getting near the Boers, who shot them down with their long "roers" as fast as they appeared, until at last, tired of the unequal conflict, the Zulus retired disheartened from the field. As the Boers were dead shots, the loss of life on the Zulu side was very considerable in these combats. The Griquas again, under Waterboer, engaged the Zulus on horseback. Delivering their fire repeatedly into the masses who marched against them, they never waited to allow their enemies the chance of coming to close quarters; but, turning their horses about again and again, retired so as to keep the Zulus at a safe distance while they picked off the foremost men with their rifles. The experiences of the present war have shown the importance of entrenched camps as against the Zulus, and have proved to demonstration that our long waggon-trains, when not properly parked or laagered according to the Dutch custom, may be a source of infinite danger, from the difficulty of pro-

tecting such an enormously extended line as they form when this precaution is neglected. On the other hand, that they may be extemporized into an admirable means of defence by the simple expedient of drawing them up in proper form when out-spanning for the halt, which gives no more trouble, there can be no manner of doubt ;—a plan which also admits of the more safely kraaling of the cattle.

The presence of the cattle themselves is always an element of danger in Kaffir warfare. A favourite manœuvre, for instance, of all the Kaffir tribes is to send scouts, who make their way, if possible, into the midst of the kraal or laager in which they are confined at night in the midst of a camp. These oxen, by spearing and hustling, are frightened into a regular stampede. In the confusion caused by this stampede the camp is attacked, or the oxen probably break through the camp at some point, thereby creating a break in the defence, which the wily Kaffirs are not slow at availing themselves of. Cattle,—the only riches, the great negotiable commodity, in fact the only medium of exchange, the equivalent for marriage and power in Kaffirland,—has been and will ever be the incentive to wars and disputes between the colonist and the savage. The continual thefts of cattle have always been the commencement of our Border warfare ; as

it always has been one of our great objects to wrest them from the Kaffirs, with the object of driving them to extremity by depriving them of the means of existence. Taking cattle from the Kaffir strongholds has hitherto been the inglorious task of the British soldier. Sad to say, the successful warrior is estimated less by the number of scalps which adorn his belt, or the excellence of his manoeuvres in the field, than by the number of heifers he can drive in patriarchal fashion before his victorious columns. Well may a Kaffir war be termed the "snob" of all wars!

## CHAPTER V.

### THE FRONTIER DEFENCE SERVICE. THE CAPE MOUNTED RIFLES.

Progressive changes.—The Boers' Commando.—Fingo auxiliaries.—Colonial mixed levies.—An unsoldierly rabble.—Lakeman's Leather Legion.—Armstrong's Horse.—The Cape Mounted Rifles.—Organization of that Regiment.—Dapper little Hottentots.—Arms and uniform.—Their horses.—Cavalry and Infantry in one corps.—Our Cavalry Colonel.—Our Infantry Colonel.—Sharp-sighted "Totties."—Abolition of the Regiment.—The Armed and Mounted Police.—The Frontier Forts.—New Defence Corps established last year.

At a time like the present, when our frontiers have become so enormously extended and the task of protecting them so difficult, the problem as to how they are to be defended in the most efficient manner is needful to be solved. And it therefore becomes interesting to inquire what is the best kind of force which can be most usefully employed to carry out that object; more especially as it is important that the colony should be placed as speedily as possible in a position to defend itself in the event of future complications with the numerous native elements with which it is on all sides surrounded. It may not,

therefore, be unprofitable to give a retrospective account of the different auxiliary forces which have been employed from time to time in our former wars with the Kaffirs, as well as the different systems of defence which have been maintained for that purpose, examining also their respective merits, and their adaptability to the end proposed by their institution.

From the time when the Great Fish River was the boundary of the colony, the Boers, who were the pioneers of civilization, were the first Europeans who came in contact with the swarm of invading Kaffirs which had overflowed the colony from the north-eastern parts of Africa. Before, indeed, the British Government sent any armed force to the frontier, the Boer Commando was the earliest means of defence employed against the Kaffirs. This Commando was a levy of mounted farmers, called into the field by their Field-Cornet or High Sheriff, for the purpose of recapturing cattle of which they had been plundered by the Border Kaffirs, and of retaliating against the offenders. Even then a mounted force seems to have been the most effectual one that could be employed against the natives. The Boers, as far as I can see, appear to have always been able to hold their own pretty much against their native enemies when left to themselves. They depended upon their trusty

weapons, the long "roers," with which they have always made such excellent practice ; and their horses usually gave them a certain advantage over their dismounted opponents. Among our earliest auxiliary forces were the Fingoes, who, since they were taken under British protection and rescued from the hands of the Gaika Kaffirs, their enslavers, have always fought on our side. But though they have been at times very useful in scouring the bush, driving cattle and so forth, they are naturally too much in dread of their conquerors to be of much good against them. Then again, in common with all the native levies whom we have hitherto brought into the field, they are not only wretched shots but very wasteful of their ammunition, and are apt to be entirely "out of it" just at the critical moment when it would be really useful. They are therefore not much to be depended upon. I was once a witness to a complete panic amongst a Fingo force which accompanied our column when engaged with Kaffirs in the Keiskamma bush in the war of 1851. The Kaffirs had been, as usual, pressing upon our rear all day ; and a squadron of my regiment, the Cape Mounted Rifles, had been doing its usual hard work of supplying the rear guard, with a view of protecting the column in its retreat. The bush was very thick, and indeed it was nothing



more or less than running the gauntlet through a series of ambuscades ; the Kaffirs could literally walk up to the edge of the bush, and fire into the column under cover. This cover was so tangled that we could not even get inside it. To make matters worse, as far as I was concerned, I was riding a horse that day which would not stand fire. He was my pack-horse, properly speaking, but my charger had fallen lame, and I was obliged to shift the pack to him, and take the pack-horse as a substitute. This pack-horse was a strong brute, but he had a very queer temper. Finding that he obstinately refused to face the sharp fire which the Kaffirs were sending into our rear, I was obliged to dismount from his back early in the day and take him back to the column, whilst I had to fight on foot. As my troop was mounted this was rather awkward. We had come to a part of the road where it made a sudden, sharp descent very much broken with thorny scrub. The Fingoes who formed part of our rear-guard were slowly retreating down the hill, when I saw the Kaffirs make a sudden rush in upon the unfortunate Fingoes. Breaking their assegais short off as they came on, they were in amongst them in a moment. I never shall forget the helpless way in which those poor fellows gave themselves up to their fate. They were evidently

too much scared to make any resistance against their cruel enemies. It was quite touching to hear the Fingoes call upon their mothers in their agony, as if these could help them. My mounted men made a dash and drove off the Kaffirs, as they always did when they could fairly get at them ; but not before a great many had been disposed of. I saw then that the Fingoes would never get to close quarters with the Kaffirs if they could avoid it. To give them their due, however, they fight decently when well backed, and are wonderfully energetic when their enemy is running away. The Fingoes were generally located in large settlements or kraals built near the forts. The principal villages at Fort Peddie and King William's Town contained each some seven or eight hundred of them with their families. Their huts, constructed in a similar manner to the Kaffirs', were disposed in streets so as to defend the large cattle-kraals made in the centre, into which the herds were driven every night for protection. Sometimes, in consequence of excessive drought, their cattle were driven far away from the settlements, guarded only by a few herdsmen, in search of grass, which in the dry season is very scarce. The Kaffirs, taking advantage of the opportunity, pounced upon them and drove them off. When this happened they might be seen rushing pell-mell out of their huts

in all directions, with such weapons as they could readily lay their hands upon in pursuit of the robbers, each striving to overtake his neighbour, and swarming out in their blankets like so many white ants; setting out at a species of jog-trot, anxiously looking out for the spoor of their retreating enemies. They are very persevering on these expeditions, and have been known to stay out for days without food rather than return unsuccessful. Under these circumstances they will fight very desperately, and generally succeed in recapturing their cattle and putting their foe to the rout.

Of all the different kinds of levies which have been raised in the country, none were less to be depended upon than the Cape Town levies. Some of these were Europeans. The remainder embraced every variety of caste from the Day-and-Martin-coloured Mozambique nigger, to the parchment-faced Irishman. Here might be seen runaway sailors, discharged soldiers, scamps out of employ, and ragged rascals of every description who preferred the glorious profession of arms to hard work of any kind. Like all soldiers, they were clad and shod by contract. Their outfit, furnished by slop-sellers, contributed therefore, as might be supposed, a pleasing variety of costume, the military forage-cap mingling sociably with the paletot and ankle-jacks of private life. Their sense of discipline was not very strict.

They were accustomed to look upon the most ordinary commands of their superior officers as admitting of argument. Thus, when required to mount sentry, if they were not relieved at the proper time from their posts, they had an unpleasant habit of notifying the fact to the corporal of the guard by firing off their muskets. They might possibly shoot some stray wanderer who was so unfortunate as to cross their beat by so doing. But this little *contre-temps* they looked upon as *la fortune de guerre*, nor did it discompose them. This noble indifference to human life was as strongly exhibited on patrol as elsewhere, an officer and several men having been destroyed in this manner in the commencement of the war of 1851 by these worthies, whose style of firing was distributed amongst their friends as well as their foes most indiscriminately and impartially. Nothing can give an adequate idea of their grotesque appearance on the line of march: the utter absence of all regularity, their muskets sloping at a hundred different angles, their rolling gait, and the number of miscellaneous odds and ends and loose ropes hanging about them. They are perfectly uncontrollable, their officers having abandoned all idea of discipline as hopeless. Thus they go along in a confused rabble; each one walking his own pace and carrying his weapon as he finds most

convenient, and laughing and chattering incessantly. Nothing is more difficult than to keep the volatile warrior from straggling on the line of march. Now it is a shoe coming off or a strap giving way ; or he must stop five minutes while he takes off bundle after bundle to get at his ration biscuit—his three days' supply of which he generally finishes long before he arrives at his first encampment. Then he must stop to drink at every little *vley*, or pool of muddy water near the road, and perhaps is missing altogether and does not turn up for some hours, when it appears that he has been attracted by some pumpkin plantation or mealy (Indian corn) field, of which he brings off some forty or fifty specimens, ingeniously stowed away on various parts of his person, and not unfrequently an enormous pumpkin, or perhaps two, *saltirewise*, impaled upon his musket.

Then we had a most extraordinary corps of Riflemen, raised, I believe, in the first instance and equipped at the expense of Captain (afterwards Sir) Stephen Lakeman. As far as I recollect he was the scion of some great saddlery importer ; and so, I suppose, thinking that there is "nothing like leather," he conceived the droll idea of clothing his legions from head to foot with that material. They were a queer ill-conditioned ragged lot, a "regular scratch pack ;" and

when equipped, looked more like the popular idea of Roman centurions out of luck than anything else. They wore a sort of helmet of leather, with regular buff jerkin tunics, and continuations of the same unaccommodating material. It was no doubt well adapted for going through the bush, and turning the points of the thorns ; which was, I suppose, his idea in adopting the costume. But who shall do justice to the limp shiny dog's-eared appearance of the legion when it began to get a little soiled and worn, and more especially after a series of heavy showers or continued wet days ; or realise the fatigue incident to such a stifling costume in a tropical country, or the soppy misery of its frog-like embrace under the untoward circumstances which I have suggested ? Their commander, however, had such a high opinion of their merits, that he actually claimed for them the high-sounding title of the "Invisible Column of Death." However, to be just, I believe they really did on one occasion steal in the dark upon a party of some half-a-dozen Kaffirs who were holding a symposium in a distant kloof, whom, taking by surprise, they forthwith abolished ; so that they may be fairly said to have established some claim to that terrific appellation. We had several mounted corps at this time, of whom the best was perhaps Armstrong's Horse. This corps

was organized by that fine old Kaffir war veteran the late Colonel John Armstrong, formerly of the Cape Mounted Rifles.

Undoubtedly, the most useful of all the corps ever brought into the field against the Kaffirs was my old regiment, the Cape Mounted Rifles. As it seems possible, from all accounts, that this regiment will form the model for the future Cape cavalry of the frontier, as it certainly proved to be the best in former wars, I think I cannot do better than give some description of its organization and the nature of its services, in these pages. The Cape Mounted Rifles then was a mounted regiment some 800 strong, and consisted of twelve troops, two-thirds of whom were natives, and the remainder Europeans recruited from different regiments. They were lithe, active, wiry little fellows, averaging about nine stone. Their dapper figures needed no setting up, and they had a natural aptitude for the saddle, and seemed to learn to ride instinctively. They would jump up at any time on their horses, bare-backed, without saddle or bridle, using their headstalls only to guide them, and gallop off at headlong speed in chase of horses or cattle which had strayed away from the camp, without a moment's hesitation ; and were rough and ready at all times, and in any emergency. Being perfectly at

home in the *veldt*, the bivouac was their delight; and they would sit up laughing and chattering round the camp fire all night, never seeming to care about rest, as long as they had a screw of tobacco in their pouches, or a comrade to listen to. With their keen sight and quickness of hand, they soon became fair shots, and were able to use their double-barrelled carbines from the saddle with good effect, for this was a part of their drill. We always made a point of practising our horses to be steady under fire. For instance, a horse which was at all fractious or timid was placed between two steady troopers on either side, when we had firing drill; in this way they soon gained confidence, for the slightest movement on horseback spoils a shot. Our double-barrelled smooth-bore Victoria carbines were excellent weapons, and carried very correctly at point-blank range of 100 yards. The great advantage of these was that they could be easily loaded on horseback, or even whilst running along on foot; and being smooth-bored, the bullets were not apt to get jammed in the barrel as with rifles, which, in my humble opinion, are quite unsuitable for mounted men. They were furnished with a strong trigger-guard, and would stand a good deal of knocking about before they got out of order.

The uniform of the Cape Mounted Rifles was dark



(invisible) green, and serviceable enough; but the officers' dress was not only elaborate and expensive but quite unsuited to the country, being a very handsome, dark, hussar uniform braided with mohair, which is almost as expensive as gold lace and was soon spoiled by constant exposure to the heat and dust of that rough country. Latterly we instituted a patrol jacket which was more comfortable, the finery being reserved only for dress occasions. Besides the double-barrelled carbine which was carried in a leathern bucket attached to the saddle, the men were provided with a cavalry sword,—a part of their equipment which might have been judiciously left out, as it only made a clatter which was seriously inimical when employed as we often were, in any expedition requiring silence and secrecy; but as the frontier Kaffirs always avoided coming to close quarters, swords were only in the way, and of no real use in the field. Another fault in the equipment was that the English authorities would persist in supplying the men with the old-patterned, regulation, heavy dragoon-saddle, which of itself was almost enough for the small Cape horses to carry, without anything else. The lightest saddle possible consistent with strength, furnished with a pair of moveable holsters to strap on to the pommel and hold a brace of revolvers, would be

infinitely preferable, especially in Zululand, where these could be used with deadly effect at short range.

The regiment was mounted on serviceable horses seldom running above 14 hands 2 or 3 inches in height, but capable of sustaining a great deal of hard work, and not badly shaped. They were rather low in the shoulder, and drooped too much in the quarter, the tail being set on very low, which gave them an ugly appearance. The regulation price allowed by Government for these troopers was £25, which is considered a good price in the Colony. Each horse, in addition to the usual cavalry appointments, was provided with a good strong *reim* or strap of white alum leather. This was carried rolled up on the headstall, and was always ready for use. It served either to fasten the horse to the picket-rope or bush at the bivouac, or to knee-halter him by when grazing on the *veldt*. Knee-haltering is accomplished by taking a couple of half-hitches round the horse's fore-leg above the knee, which has the effect of drawing his head downwards and effectually prevents his straying away for any considerable distance. This done, the troop horses are turned out to graze under a horse-guard who are answerable for their safety. This is indeed the invariable mode practised by all travellers at the Cape.

The Cape Mounted Riflemen were taught to act either

mounted or dismounted as occasion might require, their drill embracing both contingencies. They were admirable skirmishers, being practised to that style of fighting as the drill of all others most necessary in bush-fighting. I have often seen them, when on rear-guard in the field, keeping off a host of Kaffirs; extended in skirmishing order, delivering their fire, and then turning about and retiring between their files just as steadily as if on parade. Unfortunately the regiment occupied a most anomalous position. Although mounted and armed and equipped, and serving to all intents and purposes as cavalry, they were really neither cavalry nor infantry; "neither fish, flesh nor good red-herring." For instance, they only received infantry pay and allowances. And consequently we never knew how to style ourselves. When I first joined, the regiment was commanded by a fine old cavalry-officer, Colonel (afterwards General Sir Henry) Somerset, a *vieux sabreur*, who had served with his regiment, the 11th Hussars, at Waterloo. Well, in his time we prided ourselves in being cavalry. We were drilled in all the cavalry manœuvres, marched with drawn swords, and everything was done according to strict cavalry regulation. But, unhappily for us, in due course of time, our fine old cavalry-colonel was replaced by an old infantry-colonel, who had been for many years

adjutant of a marching regiment, and was infantry to the backbone. He persisted in calling A Troop No. 1 Company, and would have taken away our spurs if he dared, finding them no doubt a source of danger to himself when mounted, for he was no rider and knew nothing whatever about horses. He was great, however, at orderly-room work, and nearly reduced us to desperation by his fidgetiness. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the regiment was a most useful one, and eminently suited to the country and the duties required of it. A post-party started every week, which made the round of the different outposts and carried despatches. In war-time, they saved the column over and over again from surprise ; and were indeed, as has been aptly observed, the eyes and ears of the colonial army. Our duties in the field often took us away in small parties from the column into the very heart of the bush ; but the men were never at a loss : they had a wonderful eye for country, and could see a Kaffir, or a very small object in the bush, ever so far off. When we have been skirmishing, they have repeatedly pointed them out to me, although I strained my eyes in vain to get the smallest glimpse of a native in the direction indicated. Presently, however, a puff of smoke from the very spot and the whistle of a bullet overhead would prove the correct-

ness of the information in a very unpleasant fashion. When I first joined the regiment, the Hottentots, or "Tottys," as we called them for abbreviation sake, were habited in leather pantaloons. These were euphoniously termed "crackers," from the peculiar noise which they made when in motion. Of these the Tottys were immensely proud; they were never satisfied unless they fitted them like their skins. They were uncommonly neat-made little fellows, and I used to think that they looked very workmanlike in this costume. The dandies used to embroider them at the seams. I remember that they used to clean them with sour grass—a kind of sorrel. The curious rustling noise which they made I think rather enhanced their value in their wearers' estimation. Unfortunately, they were not always to be trusted during the latter part of the war of '51. Many of them were suspected of sympathising with their brethren of the Kat river, who had rebelled on account of some supposed injustice on our part; and partly on this account, and from the great expense of keeping up so large a mounted force, equal to at least three ordinary cavalry regiments, it was thought prudent, some years afterwards, to break up the regiment.

The Cape Mounted Rifle corps in the first place consisted of Hottentots, who were embodied into a

corps under Lieutenant John Campbell, of the 98th Foot, with a sergeant of the same regiment, as far back as the year 1797. In 1800, this body of men was formed into a regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel King, Major Donald Campbell being second in command, with their head-quarters at Cape Town. A portion of them were mounted, and were employed as guides and orderlies at head-quarters for the carrying of despatches, while the dismounted were doing duty on the frontier. After the Cape of Good Hope was again restored to the Dutch, at the Peace of Amiens, in 1802, the Cape corps was left in the colony, the men being retained in the Dutch service. In 1806, the colony was once more surrendered to the British Crown. At this time the regiment consisted of about 500, rank and file, but was augmented in 1808 to 800, one company being stationed at Graaf Reinet, whilst another was sent to the frontier. In 1810 the regiment embarked for Algoa Bay, and was actively employed on the frontier, under Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, in clearing the Kaffirs from the country between the Sunday and the Great Fish River, which latter was then the boundary of Kaffraria. The Kaffirs were at this time secreted in the Addo bush between Graham's Town and Algoa Bay. It was at this time that the Landdrost Stockenstrom was killed.

The chief T'Slambie then occupied the Zuurberg, with about 4000 Kaffirs. In 1812, the head-quarters of the regiment were first established at Graham's Town, and detachments were distributed in small parties along the frontier in isolated posts twenty-two in number. Here they were constantly occupied in patrolling, scouring the bush, and dislodging parties of Kaffirs assembled in the colony. In 1815, they assisted in putting down a revolt amongst the colonists. After the suppression of this revolt, a detachment of the regiment was employed by the Royal Artillery as drivers. In 1817, the regiment consisted of six companies, under a Major commanding. They were employed night and day at this time, repelling the incursions of the Kaffirs in the Fish River bush.

The orders, emanating from Lord Charles Somerset, then Governor of the colony, were to capture Kaffirs found trespassing, if possible without bloodshed; a reward of five rix-dollars being given for every capture of a Kaffir unwounded, and one rix-dollar for every head of cattle retaken. In 1818, the regiment assisted in recovering two thousand head of cattle from the T'Slambie tribe. In 1819, when the chiefs T'Slambie and Lynx attacked Graham's Town, the Cape Mounted Rifles were complimented in general

orders by Lieutenant General Willshire, who was afterwards commandant of the garrison at Chatham, upon the services they rendered. In 1823, the regiment was augmented to four troops of Cavalry and four of Infantry ; the command devolving upon Major Henry Somerset. For the next five years, they were constantly employed in clearing the frontier of Kaffirs, and recovering stolen cattle. In 1828, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, then commandant of Kaffraria, gained a victory over a very superior force of Kaffirs at the Umtata River, with the assistance of this regiment, which was then commanded by Capt. Aitchison. From this time up to 1840, the Cape Mounted Riflemen recaptured more than six thousand head of cattle, and three or four hundred horses, which had been stolen from the colonists. The command of the corps eventually devolved upon Colonel Henry Somerset, in 1840, when His Excellency General Sir George Napier publicly thanked the regiment, after his inspection of them, for the valuable services which they had rendered the colony since 1838 ; and testified to their efficiency in every respect as a mounted frontier defence. From that time until the war of 1857, and two following years, soon after which they were disbanded, they took an active part in the Kaffir wars of the colony ; always



proving serviceable and efficient for the peculiar duties which they were called upon to perform.

The colonists, however, who are well aware of their capabilities, have never ceased to regret their disappearance, and have attempted already, in another form, to resuscitate them. I think it will be found that the frontier force of the future can take no better model for its construction than the old Cape Mounted Riflemen. The Cape Mounted Riflemen, after their disbandment, were replaced by a numerous body of Kaffir Police, under Major (afterwards Sir Walter) Curry, a most zealous, indefatigable officer, who from his long residence in the colony and thorough knowledge of the natives and the country was able to bring the corps into a very high state of efficiency.

The Armed Police were mounted volunteers. They got a yearly allowance of about £100, and out of this they had to find their own horses and equipments. They wore a costume of tanned leather, and were armed with long rifles, which they carried slung from their shoulders by means of straps, which maintained the muzzle in an upright direction. They were a rough-and-ready corps, and latterly largely recruited from young Englishmen of all ranks, who went out to join them from the mother country. Though not so well organized or disciplined as the old Cape corps,

they certainly came next to them in efficiency as a Cape force by their suitability for bush warfare. This is the corps which it has been attempted to convert into a new Cape Mounted Rifle regiment, without, as they complain, giving them any choice in the matter. Should they be inclined to take service, they will, no doubt, furnish excellent material. If, however, they could be supplemented with a certain proportion of the old soldiers belonging to the corps which was their prototype, the Cape Mounted Rifles, their efficiency would, I imagine, be very considerably augmented. And a most useful regiment, in my opinion, would be the result.

In the year 1820, when the district between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma was established as a neutral territory, it was determined to build a number of forts within its area, for the defence of the colony by way of military protection. It was thought that with the Great Fish River in the rear, and Fort Beaufort and Graham's Town as military depôts, these outposts would form a perfect chain of defences. They were built accordingly, and occupied commanding positions over the whole area of the then frontier. They were mostly stone buildings, solidly constructed, square in form, the walls being loopholed for musketry. Each fort contained accommodation for a certain

number of mounted men and a detachment of infantry. Some of them were very isolated, and their garrisons were at times put to great straits for supplies, communication being difficult in time of war, from the impracticable nature of the bush with which they were surrounded. This was so tangled and full of evergreen shrubs and succulent plants that it was quite impervious to fire, and could only be partially cleared. These forts, though built by that scientific corps, the Royal Engineers, were planned with such an absolute want of practical knowledge that the most astounding blunders were perpetrated in their construction. Despite the blunders of scientific constructors, however, and general mismanagement, the forts were no doubt calculated to answer the end for which they were intended; and if they had been likely to remain as permanent structures, the money spent on their erection would not have been mispent. But the termination of the ensuing war in 1835 saw the Kaffirs again driven further away beyond the boundary; again a short-sighted policy once more restored the land which had been confiscated by Sir Benjamin Durban, and pardoned the chiefs who had been in rebellion. So, in the same unwise spirit of conciliation, all these forts, built at an enormous expense, were allowed to fall into disuse and decay,

many of them being dismantled. The settlement of King William's Town was established, and a further line of temporary forts at various points succeeded their now useless predecessors. These new forts were nothing more than a series of little wattle-and-daub huts, which, as that style of architecture is peculiar to South Africa, I will describe. The wattles are long rods or twigs of tough wood, cut in lengths and inserted edgewise between a frame-work of wood, so as to form a kind of trellis-work ; the daub is a composition of mud and cow dung, which is plastered or daubed on to the wattles forming the walls ; a roof of timber is then added, covered with reeds. The inside walls get a coating of white-wash, the floor is dashed over with the same mixture, and the house is then considered eligible as an officer's quarters in South Africa. It is no exaggeration to say that a civilised man in any other part of the world would hesitate before he put the most ordinary hack into it. These houses or quarters are enclosed by a mud wall, formidable against Kaffirs, but utterly indefensible against a disciplined enemy. So that I think I need hardly waste time in discussing them.

Such have been our fortified means of defence hitherto on the frontiers. Our regular forces have

always been supplemented, as they are at present, by different local corps of militia and volunteers supplied by the districts which we have been called upon from time to time to defend ; but they do not greatly differ from those already described.

The present organisation of military defences for the Cape Colony has been established by the Acts of the Colonial Legislature in the session of last year. A new force of "Cape Mounted Riflemen" has been created, in which the "Frontier Armed and Mounted Police" is now merged. It consists of two divisions or wings, each under the command of a lieutenant-colonel, with captains and lieutenants, under the orders of the commandant-general of the forces in the Colony. Two other Acts provide for the enrolment of the Burgher Force, or Militia, in which all male residents between eighteen and fifty years of age, European, Kaffir, Fingo, or Hottentot, with a few exemptions of clergymen, school teachers, and public officials, are bound to serve when called upon. They are to be summoned by the field-cornets, whenever the Governor thinks fit to assemble them for inspection and practice, or for active service ; and they are divided into two classes, the first between eighteen and thirty, the second class from thirty to fifty years of age. The burghers of each field-cornetcy elect

their own field-captain, to serve for three years, and the field-captains elect their field-commandant for the division. Mounted burghers find their own horses, but are entitled to compensation for the loss of them in active service. The establishment of three regiments of "Cape Mounted Yeomanry," with their head-quarters respectively at King William's Town, Queen's Town, and Uitenhage, is provided for by a third Act of last year's session ; and there are new regulations, also, for the acceptance of volunteer corps, the members of which are excused from serving in the Burgher Militia.

## CHAPTER VI.

### AN EPISODE IN KAFFIR WARFARE.

Sir Harry Smith.—His triumph over Macomo.—His standard of peace.—His Excellency shut up in Fort Cox.—The Kaffir messenger.—Ingenuous stratagem.—Relief expedition from Fort Hare.—Stopped by the enemy.—Lieutenant Squirrel's service.—Burying the fallen.—Our expedition from King William's Town.—The besieged fort is relieved.—The Governor extricated.—Return to headquarters.—My personal adventures.

I CANNOT give a better idea of the value of a mounted corps, such as I have described the Cape Mounted Rifles to be, than by relating an episode in the Kaffir War of 1851, on which occasion this regiment enabled the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Harry Smith, to make his escape from Fort Cox, one of our advanced outposts in the heart of Kaffraria. His Excellency had ridden up from Cape Town to the frontier, a distance of 600 miles, in six days (for he was a light weight and a capital horseman), and had immediately hastened to Fort Cox, in Kaffraria, where a body of troops had been collected just before the breaking-out of the war.

It was upon this occasion that His Excellency

performed his great *coup-de-théâtre* of placing his foot upon the Chief Macomo's neck, to which humiliating test, for purposes of his own, Macomo submitted; but that dignified old chief, who had up to that time been our faithful ally, as he raised his recumbent body from the earth administered this crushing rebuke, "Until now I thought you were a man!" These intelligent far-seeing natives had then to go through the farce of embracing the standard of peace, which emblem I remember seeing at King William's Town some days before, being purposely constructed for the occasion out of a broomstick surmounted by what was evidently an old brass door-handle. This absurd trophy the chiefs all in turn embraced. I can fancy their derisive sneers and comments as they did so. His Excellency then dismissed them perfectly satisfied, no doubt, in the innocence of his heart, that he had accomplished a master stroke of diplomacy. A few days more saw our troops surprised and defeated. The two military villages, Woburn and Auckland, were burnt, and their inhabitants massacred, and the whole country was filled with murder and rapine.

Fort Cox was built on a hill dominating the Keiskamma river. Here His Excellency found, much to his chagrin, when he wished to return to King William's Town his head-quarters, that he



was fairly imprisoned. The whole country indeed was swarming with Kaffirs. To make matters worse, all communication with the neighbouring garrisons was cut off. Under these circumstances, it became absolutely necessary to convey information of his perilous position to Fort Hare, with a view to getting assistance. This difficult task, after a good deal of discussion, was eventually accomplished in a rather ingenious manner. A friendly Kaffir was found, who offered for a sufficient consideration to make the attempt. This he successfully achieved as follows. A detachment of infantry was paraded at Fort Cox early one morning, and the friendly Kaffir being placed in the centre, apparently well guarded, was marched out by his escort into the open space outside the fort. The soldiers were then ordered to load their muskets, which they did (with blank cartridge; however!). The pretended prisoner was then made to assume a kneeling position in front of the ranks. The word "fire" was given, and a volley was fired into the kneeling Kaffir, on receipt of which he threw up his arms, uttered a fearful yell, and bounded off into the bush. He was of course received with open arms by his dusky brethren who had been all this time anxiously regarding the scene, and received quite an ovation upon his "miraculous"

escape. The infantry detachment were apparently much discomfited at this contretemps, and after firing a scattered volley into the bush, in his wake, retired to the fort, whither they were pursued by the jeers and shrieks of the triumphant natives. The friendly Kaffir taking advantage of his liberty lost no time in making his way to Fort Hare, at which place he arrived some hours afterwards without molestation, the despatch which he carried being rolled up and inserted in a quill, and concealed upon his person.

On receipt of this despatch, Major Yarboro immediately hastened off to His Excellency's assistance, making a forced march across the country. He was accompanied by three companies of the 91st regiment with a field-gun, a troop of Cape Mounted Rifles and a body of Kaffir police. He proceeded with his expedition as far as the Yellow Woods, when he was met by an overwhelming mass of Kaffirs. The tract of country where this attack took place, is densely covered with mimosa thorns, and the ground was further impracticable from the quantity of sluits (a species of dry nullah,) which are caused by the cracking of the hard earth under the influence of the tropical sun, further widened by the tropical rains which the dip of the land causes to flow into them, and thus most excellent natural rifle-pits are improvised, which you may be

sure clever skirmishers like the natives are not slow to take advantage of. Here two officers and twenty-three men were killed, and one officer and 62 men were wounded, the only alternative being a rapid retreat on the part of the expedition to Fort Hare, after a running fight of seven or eight miles through a most difficult country. A Kaffir scout conveyed intelligence of this disaster to Fort Hare, which was only three or four miles from the scene of this defeat. He also apprised the officer in command that the bodies of the officers and men slain in the encounter, still remained on the ground where they fell. This is a circumstance which is always if possible avoided in Kaffir warfare, to prevent their mutilation by our savage foes.

On the scout's arrival at the fort, two companies of the 91st regiment under Lieutenant Squirrel with a detachment of Cape Mounted Rifles under Captain Carey were sent out to the Yellow Woods with orders to bring back the bodies of the officers at any hazard, and if too much pressed, to give the men who were shot decent burial. As they approached the spot they disturbed a dense cloud of vultures, and put to flight a quantity of jackals from their unholy banquet. The bodies of the slain had been picked to the bones by these voracious creatures with one curious exception ; one of the bodies

remained untouched, having been unmolested by vultures and jackals. It was afterwards ascertained that this man had been in the habit of taking large quantities of calomel, with which his system was so saturated that his body remained as it fell, perfectly intact. The remains of one of the officers had been so dreadfully mutilated, that they had to be collected and wrapped up in a blanket, and thus conveyed on the saddle of one of the Cape Mounted Riflemen to Fort Hare for identification. The remaining bodies were then got together, and the question arose, How were they to be buried? It seems that by an oversight no spades had been brought. The ground was as hard as iron and the Kaffirs were collecting. What was to be done? Lieutenant Squirrel gave his men the order to fix bayonets, and they set to work with this feeble implement, and with infinite labour contrived to scrape a trench in the hard soil, which they covered with earth and branches in the best way they could, —just in time, as the Kaffirs, who now mustered strong, swarmed in upon them, and they were obliged to make a rapid retreat back to the Fort. They fought their way back for three miles, every inch of the way being contested, until they got under cover of the Fort guns, when the Kaffirs retreated. All this time however, we have left the Governor shut up in Fort

Cox. Intelligence of his disaster at last arriving at head-quarters, a force of 300 Cape Mounted Riflemen under the command of Colonel Napier was at once sent off from King William's Town for the purpose of escorting him back to head-quarters. I accompanied the relieving party on this occasion. An important part of our duty was, at the same time, to convoy a long train of waggons filled with provisions and necessities for the besieged Fort. The garrison had been unable to get any supplies, and their stores had consequently pretty nearly run out, and they were reduced to great shifts. This state of things did not make the Governor's stay at Fort Cox the more agreeable. Meat had become a luxury. A stick of tobacco, I remember, cost half-a-crown, the ordinary price being threepence. To our amusement, on our arrival, we found the officers breakfasting in the mess-house upon half a cup of weak tea and one commissariat biscuit per man, which latter was so hard that they were obliged to soak it in the tea before they could swallow it. Their delight can be imagined when our waggons made their appearance at the gates of the Fort. We were stationed on the spur of the hill outside the Fort, there being no room within. The scenery at this part of the Keiskamma is very grand. We looked down upon a beautiful undulating country

thickly planted with mimosa trees and all kinds of bush, with which also the sides of the hill were plentifully covered, and though it was cleared to a certain distance around the Fort, we were greeted with a shower of bullets from the Kaffirs, as surely as night set in; and no lights were allowed to be shown in our tents after dark for this reason. At last, all our arrangements being completed, we were paraded one fine morning, mounted our horses, which came filing out of the Fort, and with His Excellency, Sir Harry Smith, in our midst, started off from Fort Cox on our way back to King William's Town. We rode slowly until we got to the Debe Flats, where the country is good for horses, when we began to gallop, and scarcely drew rein until we got within sight of our destination. A little to the left of the Debe Neck lies the Kommitjie Flats, a very singular formation of country. The whole surface of the ground for some miles is hollowed out into a series of bowl-like excavations, exactly like the "friture" pans one sees abroad; hence the name Kommitjie—bowl. These depressions in the surface are so close to each other that there is only a narrow rim between each cavity, so that if you attempt to traverse it, as I have done during the war on several occasions, on horseback, you have to make a series of drops and

leaps, as there is no space to ride round the edges, and a few resolute Kaffirs might successfully oppose any number of mounted men on these Flats. They are said to be caused by the workings of a peculiar kind of worm, the traces of which are plainly to be seen all over their surfaces, the earth being turned up everywhere by their convolutions ; but the insects are apparently no longer in existence. From these rifle-pits of Nature's own framing came many a bullet, as we passed on our way that morning. As we advanced further on our road, the Kaffirs literally swarmed all round us ; but we stuck our spurs in, and went through them at the gallop. In our scamper through the thorny country, the mimosa-bushes tore our braided uniforms terribly. The mohair stripes down my regimental trousers were literally frayed into rags, and, still worse, on nearing King William's Town I found to my disgust that a thorn-branch must have caught the handle of my cavalry sword, and torn it out of the scabbard, for it was missing. As I could not go back to head-quarters without a sword, I had no alternative left me but to return and look for it. This was rather nervous work, as the bush was full of Kaffirs. A friendly Fingo, whom I encountered on my way, told me where he had seen it lying in the bush, and I fortunately succeeded in

finding it. I dismounted to recover it, but when I tried to remount, my charger, which was a very spirited young horse, not properly accustomed to fire, and which was often a cause of great embarrassment to me in consequence, absolutely refused to allow me to put my foot in the stirrup, and went round me in circles in the most aggravating way, like Mr. Winkle's horse in "Pickwick." A brother-officer, who was in charge of the rear-guard, came riding by whilst I was in this predicament. "Hallo!" said he, "what are you doing here, so far behind the column? You had better mount, and come on at once: the place is full of Kaffirs;" and off he galloped. "It's very easy to give advice," thought I, as I saw him disappearing in the bush. I was getting anxious, and my patience was well-nigh exhausted, when by a lucky chance I managed to get the point of my toe in the stirrup-iron, and landed by a spring in the saddle, and raced off to join my companions. We escorted His Excellency safely to Government House, and went back to barracks.



## CHAPTER VII.

### ZULU LAND UNDER KING PANDA.

A milder reign.—System of civil administration.—Prosecutions for witchcraft.—Laws concerning marriage.—Condition of women.—Military towns or kraals.—Zulu houses and domestic habits.—Judicial procedure.—Fondness for controversy.—Intellectual subtlety.—Language highly organised and refined.—Individual nicknames.—Sobantu and Somtseu.—Prohibited words.—Grammatical forms.—Clicks of pronunciation.—Polite phrases.—Court rhapsodists.—State religion.—Worship of Cæsars.—Ceremonial and ritual.—African heathenism.

THE overthrow of Dingaan, in 1840, by the Dutch Boers of Natal aiding his brother Panda, who had, with a large section of the Zulu nation, raised the standard of rebellion, was related in one of my preceding chapters. It was arranged beforehand, with much formality, by a special commission of the Natal Volksraad negotiating with Panda, and stipulating that he should ever continue the loyal and devoted ally of his European neighbours. On the 10th of February, when Dingaan was put to death by the Zulus themselves after his defeat, Panda was proclaimed King in the camp of the Dutch force on

the Black Umvolosi, by the Commandant, A. W. J. Pretorius, on behalf of the authorities at Natal. A separate proclamation, with the assent of Panda as Zulu Sovereign, declared all the territory from that river to the Umzimvubu, including part of Zulu Land, to belong to the Dutchmen. It does not appear that they required Panda to do any act of homage, or to pay tribute ; but the circumstances of his accession have been alleged, in later years, to imply some political subordination to the Natal Government. How far this was ever understood or intended by Panda himself, and by the Zulu chiefs and nobles at any period of his reign, seems very doubtful. There exist certain documents written in the Dutch language, but with no sufficient attestation, I believe, of their being fully and precisely endorsed by that illiterate savage monarch. It is evident, however, that Panda, while he exercised the prerogatives of independent royalty in his own kingdom, and in making war or peace with the nations on his northern frontier, never failed to show implicit deference towards the successive Dutch and English rulers of Natal.

The domestic government of Panda in Zulu Land, according to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, was "incomparably milder and more merciful" than that of Dingaan ; and this amelioration was, in a great

degree, to be ascribed to the influence of the Dutch Boers over him. During a reign of nearly thirty-three years, ending with his death in October, 1872, he regarded them with "feelings of grateful attachment and loyalty." His kingdom was tolerably quiet, as the systematic despotism which his sterner predecessors had established, like that of the Roman Emperors before civil wars broke out from disputed claims to the throne, effectually suppressed all internal disaffection, while the new European colonists on his borders were content to let him alone. The government and administration of the Zulu Kingdom, from the time of Dingaan, had been consolidated into a regular fabric, which was viewed with surprise, and even with admiration, by some of the missionaries and travellers acquainted with that country. Such is the testimony of the Rev. Lewis Grout, an American missionary, in his book on the Zulus, describing the complete official hierarchy of governing agents and sub-agents throughout every district. Every valley, mountain, and river-bank had its responsible ruler; and these owned a feudal subordination to the Induna or provincial chief, who was a member of the King's Great Council, as well as a General commanding his own vassals in time of war. The head man of each kraal or village, with the advice and assistance of the

elders, dispensed justice in a patriarchal fashion, and secured the obedience of those under his care. In theory, as in the mediæval condition of some European realms, the King was supposed to be the supreme owner of all the lands in his dominions, and they were held of him by feudal tenure ; he could also lay claim to any man's cattle for the royal service, or for the purpose of offering religious sacrifices. But his Majesty was bound, on the other hand, to afford protection to all his liege subjects, and to govern in accordance with the laws and customs of the nation, consulting the Senate of Indunas upon any important question. The King's acts or decrees, however, once put in execution, could not be opposed by any constitutional authority ; and this gave him, practically, through the instrumentality of local chiefs who courted his favour or dreaded his anger, the power of oppressing individuals, despoiling them of their property, or putting them to death upon various false accusations.

Of these pretexts for destroying an obnoxious or merely wealthy person, and confiscating his riches, the most frequent was, and still is, the accusation of witchcraft. Our own Shakspeare has represented King Richard III. sending Lord Hastings to the block for this alleged crime of sorcery, and English

history furnishes many other instances of much later date. In the Zulu Kingdom, it seems to be frightfully common, so that a "tagati" or wizard is the type of execrable wickedness; and no pity is felt, among the people of all classes, for any man, however blameless in his general conduct, against whom this terrible indictment is uttered by those of superior rank. The cases are numerous in which it has been used to gratify royal cupidity by getting possession of herds of cattle, slaves, and women, and of the forfeited lands belonging to an unfortunate rich man; and there is no appeal from the King's judgment in these cases. A class of witch-finders called the "inyanga,"—that word properly denoting persons of scientific, technical, or professional skill, such as doctors of medicine,—are employed to "smell out" the male witches, suspected to be working mischief all over the country. They also bear the appellation of "izanusu,"—that is, diviners or soothsayers. We seem here again to be reminded of a good old English precedent, the like office attributed to one "Matthew Hopkins, the Witch-finder," who is said to have stood high in the confidence of our British Solomon, King James the First. There have been many human lives sacrificed to this dark superstition in our Protestant Christian country; and it is to be hoped

the Zulus will not be so long as we have been in learning to know better.

Many other social institutions and customs of the Zulu nation seem to have acquired, in the long reign of Panda, a degree of fixity, which makes it fitting to notice them in the present chapter. As military service is compulsory for all males in the population, none are permitted to marry without the King's express sanction, which is granted to whole regiments at once, and not till they are past middle age. They are then ordered to take for wives the daughters of the men composing older regiments of the army. As for the younger men, they live in a state of dependent pupilage, forming large communities of celibate soldiery, under the immediate care of the Indunas and other feudal lords, who provide for their maintenance.

The agricultural and other industrial labours of the country are mostly performed by the women; but men do not disdain the task of milking cows, which is esteemed rather as a kind of recreation, the practice being to suck the cow's udder with the mouth, and to discharge the milk, by mouthfuls, into the pail. Few of the young men will condescend to dig or hoe the fields, to sow or gather in a crop of maize, and none will grind corn or weave mats; but the building of

houses, or huts, and of fenced kraals, and the making of weapons, are considered men's work.

A Zulu, when allowed to marry, takes as many wives as he can afford to buy ; the "ukulobola," or purchase-money of a wife, being fixed by law at so many cattle, according to the rank of her parents. He is not allowed to sell her to another man, and he is obliged to treat her with due respect, providing a separate hut for each wife in his patriarchal establishment, as among the Mormons of Utah. The condition, therefore, of the married women is less degraded and miserable than that of the girls, who are compelled to give themselves to elderly husbands without any choice in the matter. If they refuse to marry at the King's order, and especially if they are detected in love affairs with the young men not yet allowed to marry, these unhappy maidens are put to death. The laws against unchastity, both for the married and the unmarried of either sex, are severely enforced. Upon the whole, Zulu Land in its social organisation realises the ancient Spartan ideal of discipline more completely, and with more consistent cruelty, than any other State in modern times.

There are twenty or more Royal kraals, or soldier-pens, which are standing camps enclosed by a stockade, each containing some hundreds of warriors ; the

King's chief kraal has three or four thousand. The enclosure is of a circular form, taking in a pretty large field ; the outer fence, which may be ten feet high, is constructed of wattles firmly twisted together. Rows of huts for the men occupy the greater part of the ground, eight or ten inmates finding room in each hut. At the upper side, behind another hedge of wattles, is the "isogodhlo," or harem and domestic abode of the chief, who has the government of the kraal ; here are the houses of his wives, and huts for his slaves. His cattle are penned in a circular enclosure, which is usually placed in the centre of the grand circle. There is but one gate of entrance and egress, at the lower side of the kraal, opposite the chief's dwelling. This plan of construction is said to be uniformly observed in all the military villages of Zulu Land. The huts require a brief description ; they are commonly built by fixing in the ground a number of pliant reeds or poles in a circle, and then bringing their top ends together at the summit, where they are fastened with strips of hide, or ropes of fibre. The poles do not stand upright and parallel, but obliquely crossing each other, at regular intervals, where they are firmly tied at the intersecting points, which gives to the whole framework the consistent strength of a basket, in the regular form of a bee-hive ; and its base is further



secured by attachment to stout posts set deep in the earth all round. The walls are filled in with clay, both inside and out; the floor is also composed of clay, stamped or beaten down, smoothed and polished by rubbing with large pebbles. It is not at all an uncomfortable or unsightly dwelling, though affording but a single room for the accommodation of the family. In the centre is a basin, with a raised margin, to serve as a fire-place. The door is formed of a suspended hurdle interwoven with wattles; and screens of the same material divide one compartment of the interior from another. To the left of the entrance is a raised platform, occupied by the women and children; and herdsmen are wont to use this space for the shelter of their calves or lambs at night from inclement weather. Here are kept the grindstones, the cooking utensils, the pots of milk and stores of grain, in charge of the women of the household. Their simple finery of gala dress, carefully tied up in bags to preserve it from being spoiled by the dust and smoke of the fire, hangs on the walls of the dwelling. The opposite or right-hand side is appropriated to the master of the house and his male companions, with a partition between his apartment and that of the women. It is the repository, in like manner, of his personal chattels, his shield and spears, his rifle or musket, his hatchet, knife, and

drinking-cup, with the plumes of feathers, and the apron of wild-cat skins, or similar articles, which make up his warlike attire. Such are the habitations and domestic arrangements of the Zulu people, from a mere inspection of which the character of their social life is readily perceived. The females are little better than slaves, however kindly treated by their husbands and fathers; the men alone, and these only when they have attained middle age, are in any sense their own masters, subject to the authority of their feudal chiefs, and to that of the king. The wealth of a man consists of his cattle and his daughters, equally available as so much stock for sale to the best bidder; and the more wives he owns, still taking fresh girls or young women into his household, if he be rich enough, to the end of his life, the more daughters he expects to rear, and to sell for more cattle. This is truly patriarchal, and not less abominable, as I am sure my fair readers will agree; but it is simply the truth about the Zulus and many other Kaffirs and African nations. Polygamy among the Turks has been a theme of frequent discussion, and its social effects are no doubt very bad; the Moslem, however, unless it be the Sultan himself, is supposed to be content with four wives at once, whereas the Zulu paterfamilias may have any number at his own cost and risk. Indeed, a man with less than

four wives is scarcely looked on as a substantial citizen or gentleman of independent property and position.

The ordinary administration of judicial authority by the local chiefs, in all private cases, whether criminal or civil, between man and man, seems to be tolerably uniform; but the method of procedure has a rather tumultuous aspect. The chief having taken his seat in the middle of the kraal, the contending plaintiff and defendant, each with his kinsmen and friends, appear at its farthest verge on the opposite sides. One party, while yet at a great distance, or even from outside the enclosure, shout out all with one voice, "I complain!" The others reply, "Thou complainest? against whom dost thou complain?" The prosecutors then name the accused party, Ngungwana or Mahlatini, or whoever he may chance to be; the others demand to know his offence; both parties are gradually drawing nearer to the central seat of justice. The distinct pleas or counts of the indictment are thus announced, by many tongues on each side, in the hearing of the whole popular assembly, before any notice is taken by the presiding judge. Indeed, he does not appear to mind it at all, but sits quiet on his mat, or even lies down and shuts his eyes, as though he were asleep. When the two conflicting parties

stand before the tribunal, its business of inquiry is taken in hand by several assistants, whose number is not limited, chosen from the respectable householders of the kraal or village. They ask questions of the witnesses who are put forward, invite the spokesmen on either side to address the court, and freely comment upon the statements that are made, and upon the merits of the case. Every person is allowed to have his say; the audience, including partisans of both plaintiff and defendant, standing at a respectful distance, may interpose with assertions of fact or expressions of opinion. This grows and gathers into a shouted popular verdict, or more probably, two opposing verdicts; the chief men in the central group signifying, after much private conference, their respective assent or dissent. At last, the Induna or other presiding magnate, who has remained in a seeming passive insensibility during the whole trial, gets up and retires into his secluded abode at the upper side of the kraal. He is supposed there to engage in profound meditation, and to consult the divine oracles; these are more especially supplied by the spirits of deceased ancestors, the "amahloze" or "isitunzi," which enter into the bodies of serpents to convey wisdom to their human disciples. For the same reason, snake-skins are worn, as ornaments and spells

of mystic force, upon the head and breast of the inyanga or priest, and of the king or the Induna when he is dispensing justice. He comes forth, after a short time, and gives his judgment or sentence upon the case, most likely agreeing with the verdict already passed by the majority of councillors or jurymen, who are apt to fall in with the popular sentiment loudly heard from the multitude round about them.

The Zulus are very fond of litigation and disputation, in which they exercise an amount of intellectual activity and subtlety that is highly characteristic of this race, as further shown by the extreme refinement of their language, its precision of grammatical forms and facility of making compound words being scarcely inferior to the Greek. They delight in elaborate sophistry, and will spend whole days in this logical pastime, discussing law or politics, while regaling their nostrils with huge quantities of snuff, like the Scottish Highlanders of a former time, before civilization and the Kirk had changed the state of North Britain.

I will conclude this chapter with some further account of the manners and customs of the Zulus at home; as well as the peculiarities in their language that have been instanced to prove their high intellectual capacity, however debased and abused by gross superstition. The well-known Bishop of Natal, the

Right Rev. Dr. Colenso, has, from his first introduction to that See, borne witness to the powers of thought with which they are naturally gifted. He lays much stress upon the adequate significance of the words he found in use among the natives, different from those given them by the missionaries, to denote the Supreme Deity; "Umkulunkulu," the Great-great One, or the Infinite; "Umvelinquange," the First Existing or Coming-forth, that is to say, the Original; but the name "I-tongo," or Supreme Lord, is said to belong to the deified spirit of a deceased mortal hero, their imagined common ancestor. The Zulus have given to Bishop Colenso himself, since they became acquainted with his office and teaching, the names of "Sobantu," which is Father of the People; and "Sokululeka," or Father of the Great Raising Up, which refers to the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection. Every person of rank and gentility is thus invested with at least one descriptive name, title of praise, or merely inoffensive nickname, which is generally used instead of his proper name. The origin of this singular custom is, that a chief's wives and other women of his family are forbidden to speak of him by his proper name, and they must necessarily either use his public title, if he has one, or else invent a name descriptive of his person and habits, or commemorative of some incident in his

life. Such names are soon learnt by the children, and continue in use throughout a whole generation. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, for example, has been known to the Zulus only as "Somtseu" during more than thirty years past. Upon the death of a royal personage, it is made the law, by way of showing respect for the memory of the deceased, that no one shall pronounce his name, or any word associated with it, during the lifetime of his successor, as perpetual chief mourner. The funeral of Umnandi, King Chaka's mother, has been referred to as an occasion upon which, in the atrocious rites of the State religion, thousands of human victims were sacrificed, together with myriads of oxen; and the cultivation of the soil, the use of milk as food, and the maternal duties of womanhood, were prohibited under capital penalties during the next year. This interdict, however, was presently commuted for a wholesale offering of cattle. But so long as Chaka reigned, it was death to mention the name of Umnandi, which in the Zulu tongue means "nice" or "sweet," and the word "mtote," though much less expressive, had to be used instead. The prohibition, likewise, of the word "panda," which signifies "root," after the demise of his late majesty, who was, properly speaking, "Umpanda," that is to say, "The Root," has proved somewhat inconvenient,

because there are many other words derived from it, or allied to it, such as "to dig," and "a cave or hole in the earth," which one dares not utter now. For the rest, Zulus have the use of their tongues and their brains, in general talk, as freely as any people, and their remarks are generally shrewd enough. The Zulu grammar has been set before philologists, by Mr. Grout and others, in treatises which are within reach of the curious student. They inform us that the language has eight declensions of the noun substantive, each with its own case-formations, and signs of the singular and plural. The verb, with all its tenses and moods, expressing the relations of time and contingency, is said to be a beautiful instrument of thought. The system of representing a variety of definite modifications of the sense in which a word is applied, by means of a series of prefixed or affixed syllables, has also been found worthy of commendation. It may assist the reader to comprehend and recollect Zulu proper names, those of persons and places, if he will observe that the prefix "Um," sometimes pronounced and written "M," is the singular definite article "The ;" so that the Volosi and Voti rivers, for instance, are called "Umvolosi" and "Umvoti ;" and Panda's name is properly "Mpanda," or "The Root." The plural of nouns admitting this form of singular "the"



is made by the prefix "ama;" thus "umtagati," the sorcerer, becomes "amatagati," the sorcerers; but in another declension, where the noun begins with a vowel letter, as "inyanga," a priest or doctor, the plural is "isinyanga." The personal pronoun, I, is "saku," which some learned philologist may possibly connect with "ego," or its Sanscrit derivative; and the pronoun of the second person is "U," which sounds very much like "you." So that the poor ignorant Zulus, speaking as between man and man, use the identical words of our most cultivated and classical languages; and they even presume to say "Wetu," as it were in modest self-assertion, "We too," in cases where the people of England say "We." The worst fault in the Zulu Kaffir language, as in others of South Africa, is that it has borrowed from the aboriginal Hottentots the disagreeable clicking sound, produced in three different ways by smartly thrusting the tongue against the palate, the roots of the front teeth, and the side teeth, which does not come readily, in either of its variations, to be written by consonants of the European alphabet. The first letter of the present Zulu King's proper name, "Cetewayo" or "Ketchwhy," as it is differently spelt, may be adduced as an instance of this linguistic difficulty; but after all, the "clicks" are not of frequent occur-

rence, and the ordinary flow of Zulu talk is as liquid and melodious as that of Italian.

The Zulu people have a profuse abundance of figurative epithets, used by way of compliment or flattery, in accordance with the ceremonious and pompous courtesy of their manners towards the King and peers of the realm. "Inkosi," which is simply "Lord" or "Sir," belongs to the ordinary dignity of a gentleman, and every white man among the Zulus expects to be so addressed ; but a missionary, clergyman, or teacher, bears the professional title of "Umfundisi." The King is addressed in various ways of expressing what we mean by "Your Majesty ;" but the favourite appellation is "Ndabezita," or "Breaker-in-pieces of the enemies." His presence must always be hailed with a loud cry of "Bayete !" which form of salutation is likewise accorded to other persons of rank. Common phrases of politeness are such as "Hamba kahle," "Walk in comfort," said to a visitor on his going away, to which he replies "Tsala kahle," "Sit in comfort ;" and indeed, they have a very fair idea of courteous behaviour to each other, as well as to superiors and strangers.

There is no Zulu literature that I know of, even in oral preservation, though some legendary epic of gods and heroes may have existed and been forgotten.

The King's court, upon grand festival occasions, is attended by a set of bards or rhapsodists, who exert their poetic imagination to multiply his extravagant titles of praise, with an affected fury of enthusiastic adulation, pouring out the most fantastic epithets, "Thou Black and Beautiful! thou Tall and Straight! thou Heavy Elephant, thou Ravenous Hyæna! thou Devourer, thou Waster, thou Smasher, thou Lovely Monster of Resistless Might! thou Destroyer of the Amaswazi, the Amatonga, and all the nations round about! Keenly eying the herds of men and cattle, fiercely killing and snatching what Thou wilt, upsetting the ancient race of Kings, catching with a noose the feet of Thine enemies, covering with death all foes at home and abroad, rapaciously eating up the world! Thou mighty Son of I-Tongo! Like the Zulu, the Heaven on High, Thou art shining in splendour, or shedding rain and hail from Thy clouds, or breaking upon us in the fearful thunderstorm!" The above is a pretty faithful translation of one of their preposterous hymns, omitting some tedious repetitions and allusions to the historic victories of Chaka and Dingaan. Such compositions are styled "isibongo," and furnish the most approved entertainment at the Zulu Court; they seem not less to be the orthodox kind of religious worship; for in this

heathen Empire, as in that of the Cæsars, the political and military despot's throne stands for the altar of their God; the shrine of visible and tangible Force, and of arbitrary self-will; undoubtedly the final result of every immoral superstition.

There are no regular temples, or stated ordinances of public prayer, except those superintended by Royalty, and the solemnities appointed for certain seasons of the year, at which the King, as Arch-Pontiff, takes the leading part. The 1st day of January, being Midsummer day, is dedicated to the great national festival of U-kwechwana, a kind of harvest thanksgiving for the crop of "mealies" or maize, which is now ripe to be gathered, fit for roasting or boiling. There is a grand muster and review of the troops, and it is at this period that some of the soldiers of older regiments are permitted to retire, or to marry, after a careful inspection by the King. His Majesty then proceeds to perform a series of sacrificial and propitiatory acts in honour of his deified ancestors, whose souls are ever present, either inhabiting serpent bodies, or hovering about him in the viewless air. A choice bull of the royal herds is slaughtered by a party of young men, who must capture and kill the animal with their hands alone, I suppose killing it by strangling, as they are forbidden

to use either a rope, a knife, or a club or spear. The King hereupon comes forward, dancing and singing with much gravity in the modes prescribed by ritualistic law, invokes the gods of his hereditary observance, pretends to see the apparition of their spectral faces, and reports their message of benediction to the assembled people. He calls upon I-Tongo, the Father and Master of the human race, once a living mortal man upon earth; the ghosts of deceased monarchs and heroes, of Jama and Senzagacona, and the conquering warrior Chaka, founder of the Zulu Empire, of the nation, and of the reigning dynasty; these models of martial prowess, authors of Zulu glory and prosperity, lions and elephants in formidable power among the inferior creatures, are still adored in Zulu Land. May they send down from Heaven, that celestial region called "Zulu," the blessings of a plentiful harvest, that the soldiers may eat and be strong for the noble work of war! This is the purport of the King's yearly prayer, on behalf of his State and subjects; and then he crushes open a gourd or calabash, which is a token that the new year has commenced.

The religious observances which are customary upon minor occasions do not greatly differ from those common to African heathendom in general. Ceremonial purification, as with most other barbarous and

superstitious nations, is strictly attended to, especially by the mourners and kindred of a person who has lately died. This rite is performed by sprinkling with gall taken from the gall-bladder of a calf; but the animal's side must be ripped open, and the bladder torn out while the beast is yet living. Such bladders are frequently worn as a talisman or safeguard against evil spirits. It is evident that, whatever gods the Zulus may have in their own country, they have plenty of devils, and there is, perhaps, not much to choose between them. All this is most pitiable, but such is the condition of savage Africa; only here and there, at the station of a Christian missionary, Protestant or French Catholic, English or German or Swedish, gleams the light of divine truth, with the spirit of a pure morality, to guide and cheer a little flock of converts gathered out of vast heathen populations. Within the pale of British colonial dominion, it may have been possible to effect a moral and social reformation by the correct administration of suitable laws for that purpose. The chances of this experiment in the province of Natal will be our next subject of consideration.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### NATAL AND ZULUS UNDER BRITISH RULE.

Vast influx of Zulus into Natal, to escape their marriage laws.—No increase of European population.—Dangerous disproportion of the races.—History of British government in Natal.—Departure of the Dutch.—Their grievances.—Principles of Natal administration since 1848.—A nursery of Kaffir laws, manners, and customs, under British rule.—His Excellency the Supreme Chief of Zulu tribes.—Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, Native Affairs Secretary.—A Protectorate of natives, but not a Colony.

THE acquisition or formal adoption of this province by the British Government, thirty-three years ago, has drawn upon England the increasing responsibility of managing and instructing one half of the Zulu nation, leaving the other half, so far as we have yet gone, to the tender mercies of their own King. It was not contemplated at the outset that such a tremendous task would be thrown upon the singularly isolated ruling authorities of a remote and infant colony, which has never yet possessed 25,000 inhabitants of European race. The immigration of native Africans has been more than tenfold that of British

and other civilized settlers, a difficulty which nobody foresaw in the last generation. Its cause will already have been made apparent to my readers, from the peculiar social condition of the adjacent Zulu Kingdom, as established by Chaka and Dingaan, the domestic evils of which had not been redressed under the pacific but indolent reign of Panda. The great hardship was and continues to be felt by the mass of the people in Zulu Land with intolerable severity; I mean, the restrictions on marriage and the imposition of forced marriage, by the King's orders, dealing wholesale with all the manhood and womanhood of the nation, as in an ideal Spartan Commonwealth, for the mere maintenance of a standing army; a system of universal military conscription for life-long service, as it affects the male population, combined with absolute confiscation of the female youth to reward veteran soldiery in the breeding of recruits! It is shocking enough in reality, though ancient philosophers have entertained this notion, or something like it, as matter of complacent fancy in their visionary political inventions. At any rate, it has been the main grievance from which many thousands and tens of thousands of Zulu men and women have fled into the neighbouring British territory. Another large portion of the African immigrants, especially in the



first period of Dutch and English settlement, consisted of the remnants of broken tribes formerly dwelling in this country, but which had been dispersed by Chaka, or carried away into captivity, as the Jews were transported to a foreign land by Nebuchadnezzar, and came back after seventy years. These Zulu families, as well as those of other Kaffir nations gathered within the British pale, have been much more prolific, thriving in safety, than they would have been in the outer social wilderness; and the result is an embarrassing disproportion of black men to white.

By the latest statistical returns, Natal contains but 22,654 people of European race, including some Dutch and a few Germans; 290,000 Africans, mostly Zulus; and nearly 13,000 Indian coolies, imported to work in the sugar plantations of the sea coast. This is nearly a reverse proportion to that which exists between the two different races in New Zealand, where about 400,000 English, rapidly and steadily increasing, stand beside a fast dwindling remnant of the Maories, less than a tenth of the number just mentioned. And the European population of Natal remains almost stationary from one decade of years to another; while that of New Zealand, by the willing emigration of thousands of the English middle and

working classes, again and again doubles itself in the same period of time. Natal is altogether backward in the race of colonisation, despite its great natural advantages, a situation about half the distance that New Zealand is from Great Britain, a fertile soil, a genial climate, and the probability of mineral wealth. These attractions have been fatally overborne, in the estimation of those seeking a field of employment for capital and labour, by the actual presence, within the colony and on its borders, of uncivilised natives, to the number of 750,000, whose loyalty and friendliness cannot be certainly relied on. As an element of industrial prosperity, the Zulu Kaffirs in this British province have not yet contributed any material share to the development of its resources; for they generally decline any kind of field or plantation work on hire, though many will engage in household service, or take charge of horses and waggons. The great majority, in Natal as in Zulu Land, support themselves by means of their own herds of cattle, occupying a large extent of the available pasture grounds, so that the agricultural settlement of Europeans cannot easily go beyond certain limits. It is in the low-lying strip of territory along the sea-shore, which has a semi-tropical climate, that the productive capabilities of Natal are more readily utilised with a tolerable

chance of profit. Sugar, with the aid of Asiatic coolie hands, instead of native African, is cultivated here as well as in the island of Mauritius; coffee, arrowroot, and cotton will grow, but it is doubtful if they will pay. These economic and social conditions of Natal will perhaps be deemed to have a certain bearing upon questions of intercolonial policy, and its relations to other South African States, which are to be discussed hereafter.

The Dutch Boers who assisted Panda, in 1840, to make himself King of Zulu Land, for which service they took his cession of Natal to them, were not permitted to enjoy what he assumed the power to give. British subjects had settled on the sea-coast many years before, and it was in 1835 that Port Durban received its name from Sir Benjamin Durban, then Governor of the Cape Colony. The succeeding governor, Sir George Napier, moreover regarded those Dutchmen who had left the older provinces, to wander off beyond the Orange and the Vaal and the Drakensberg, as still amenable to British jurisdiction. He therefore, as soon as they descended into the Natal Country, denounced their occupation thereof as "unwarrantable," and sent a company of the 72nd Highlanders, with a dozen artillerymen, under Major Charters and Captain Jervis, to hold the sea-port.

This was shortly before the overthrow of Dingaan by the Boers and Panda in the adjacent Zulu Kingdom. The Dutch in Natal protested that they were a free and independent people, and that the country did not belong to the English, as, indeed, it had once been in the temporary possession of Holland so far back as 1760. Captain Jervis was ordered to withdraw, bidding them a friendly good-bye, at the end of the year 1839, when they naturally supposed that the British claim to Natal would no longer be maintained. They did not hesitate, therefore, by virtue of the cession obtained from Panda a few weeks later, to hoist the flag of a Natalian Dutch Republic; and they sent to Cape Town a memorial, asking for Queen Victoria's formal recognition of the new independent State. It is to be observed that Sir George Napier had expressly disavowed any intention to annex this territory to the British colonial dominions, and had declared the military occupation of its shore to be of a temporary character. The Dutchmen had this excuse for their conduct, and it had been ruled by some legal authorities that, when they quitted the old Cape Colony for lands beyond the British frontiers, they were free to live as they pleased. Notwithstanding these arguments, the British Government, urged on by Cape Town merchants and colonists jealous of

the Boers, resolved to assert and to enforce its claim to Natal, after seeming to give it up. A body of some 500 troops, with two guns, under Captain T. B. Smith, was landed in May, 1842, and was opposed to a nearly equal force of Dutch militia, each party holding its own fortified camp. The Boers got rather the best of it, knowing the ground and having plenty of provisions; the English soldiers, driven back from a sally, were soon closely besieged. They were almost starved out, but a message had been sent to the Cape, and relief came just in time, on the 24th of June. Two British ships of war, conveying 700 troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Josias Cloete, lay off the harbour. The Dutchmen retreated up the country to their new capital of Pietermaritzburg. They were followed by Colonel Cloete, but he had no more fighting to do. Their Volksraad, or popular Legislative Assembly, voted an Act of submission, upon the promise that their lands and property should be secured to them. In the following year, her Majesty's Government proceeded to establish a new civil administration of Natal. Its principles were signified to the Boers and other colonists, in a proclamation forbidding any aggression upon the native race, abolishing slavery and pledging the Government to equal justice for black men and white, for Englishmen and Dutchmen

alike. A special commissioner, Judge Cloete, was appointed to examine the land claims, and on the 12th of May, 1843, Natal was finally declared a British Colony.

The object of her Majesty's Government, in the adoption of this political responsibility, was to provide for "the peace, protection, and salutary control of all classes of men settled at, and surrounding this important portion of South Africa." It would be difficult to find words that better set forth neither more nor less than the precise endeavours of Imperial British policy, during the past thirty-five years, with regard to all the Kaffir countries on the eastern and north-eastern sides of the Cape Colony. Her Majesty's Ministers have occasionally been misled, and have made a few serious mistakes in their transactions, both with the Boers and with the Kaffirs, while the Imperial Parliament, the press, and the people of England, have never been sufficiently instructed upon this subject. But there has been a sincere disposition, I feel sure, on the part of all the legislative and official authorities, and of the disinterested public, to carry out the laudable British undertaking of 1843; that is to say, the rule of Eastern South Africa, with its million and a half of Kaffirs, for the peace and welfare of the actual population. I would only remark here, by way of

reserved approval, that this is an Imperial Protectorate, but it is not Colonisation. We shall see the difference when we compare the results of such a policy in South Africa with the creation of new and prosperous English communities in North America and Australasia during no longer period. And it may then appear to be a question worth considering, in the interest of the British tax-paying public, how far it is right and wise for this country to assume an onerous and perilous responsibility for the control and protection of barbarous races all over the world, in territories which are not likely ever to become the abode of large numbers of English people.

Natal, the province thus deliberately selected for a political and philanthropic experiment which has proved rather costly, and is just now causing us not only vexation but alarm, has had a troublesome little history of its own since 1843. The first disappointment and embarrassment arose from the moody behaviour—and it was natural enough—of the defeated Boers. Their elective Volksraad, or House of Representatives, sitting at Pietermaritzburg, was still left, during two years subsequent to the British annexation, nominally in charge of civil and judicial affairs, while Major T. B. Smith held the military command. But the execution of their laws, and the

general public business of their community, were interfered with by various arbitrary regulations. The settlement of the colony was not merely impeded, but thrown into confusion by the uncertainty that prevailed as to the tenure of estates, the grants of new land, the legal conditions of servitude, and the location of native tribes. These matters indeed were fairly reported upon by Judge Cloete, himself a Dutchman of the Cape Colony, and a good servant of the Queen's Government: but neither the authorities at Cape Town, nor those at Westminster, could promptly understand how to deal with the peculiar exigencies of far-away Natal. So the Boers were thoroughly disgusted with British rule; and thousands of them presently loaded their waggons, in-spanned their oxen, calling the worst of the team by the opprobrious name of "England;" and trekked off westward again, by the road they had come five or six years before over the Drakensberg, to the high plains of the Orange and the Vaal. We shall there meet them again; and the reader may feel as much sympathy as a loyal and patriotic Englishman dares to acknowledge, for these poor, stout, bigoted, liberty-loving, surly Dutchmén, so often hunted up and down over the vast territories of South Africa, so repeatedly promised the quiet enjoyment of their bare independence, so peremptorily



turned out of one Free State after another. Englishmen would not like such treatment, if a small commonwealth of our race, detached from the Empire of Great Britain, chanced to be placed among the Spanish and Portuguese of South America, or adjacent to the French of Algiers. The Dutchman, even in Africa, is not devoid of that sturdy republican spirit of freedom, which he showed in the United Netherlands three centuries ago.

Our present concern is with those in Natal. Half of them, I have said, retraced their weary steps to the uplands of the interior region, there to experience new troubles, which are not yet ended, between the encompassing forces of English speculative enterprise on the one hand, and of native savagery on the other, jostling to and fro upon the Dutchman's ground. The leader of this secession was the celebrated Andries Pretorius, who had in vain travelled all the way to Graham's Town with their respectful appeal to the British Governor, then Sir Henry Pottinger, and had been denied an interview. The Boers complained of much in Natal, but chiefly that their estates and farms were taken away from them, and given to the Kaffirs, who were fast coming into the country since it rested under European protection. To explain this allegation, it should be observed that the British official regulations

since 1843 had disallowed private titles to land beyond two thousand acres ; whereas the ordinary size of a Boer's pasture-farm is six thousand acres, which is agreeable to his patriarchal manner of living, with his married sons and daughters around him, and with a large number of farm-servants, as well as to his method of grazing cattle. The compulsory surveying of estates, at their owners' or occupiers' private cost, was another regulation by the effect of which, though not so intended, many of the Boers were dispossessed, or at least disturbed, in the enjoyment of their property. These grievances were attended to after two or three years, but the injury had already been done, and the Dutch agriculturists were driven away from Natal because they could not live and thrive under a system that was incompatible with their familiar habits and customs. It is not the fact that they withdrew from British Colonial authority for the sake of reviving the practice of slavery, though attempts have been made in England to fix this accusation upon them. The laws successively established in each of the Dutch South African Republics with regard to enforced labour of natives were similar to those passed here in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for the restraint of mischievous vagrancy. They prohibited the Kaffirs from wandering unemployed about

the country, and infesting the vicinity of settlements ; while, to deprive them of excuse for thieving or begging, it was ordained that none should refuse to enter into the service of farmers who would give them food and wages. But this degree of subordination of the Kaffir race to European settlers, where the latter class were not English but Dutch, has always seemed very shocking to the humane sensibility of Exeter Hall benevolent and religious societies ; which easily persuaded themselves, for a time, that the institution referred to was identical with the negro slavery of our own West Indies. The Boers of Natal and the Transvaal were not planters of sugar, rice, or cotton, and did not want a host of enslaved field hands to work for them. They had the young men and boys of their own families, and the Hottentot servants who had followed them from the Cape, to help look after their cattle, which they would never have cared to entrust to Kaffirs. Nor would it have been possible ever to keep the Kaffirs in slavery, in a wide open country where escape to boundless interior space would be so easy for that nimble folk. Slaveholding was out of the question, upon any large scale, though it is not denied that native children, adopted or actually purchased from their parents, have commonly been held in a state of compulsory apprenticeship, most frequently

to household service, by the Transvaal Boers. So much ought fairly to be said for the purpose of removing a prejudice which might hinder our due comprehension of their history also in Natal.

The Dutch settlers, at any rate, were not guilty of having intruded into a land that was peopled by Kaffirs, and of having expelled its former native inhabitants. They found it, in 1837, empty, void, and waste, the mere lonely wilderness that the Zulu destroyer had made and left it. Judge Cloete states, in his report to the British Government, that there were only some 3000 natives then in the whole country, which is half the size of England, and two-thirds of these were around the seaport, living under foreign protection ; the poor remainder were scattered and perishing of hunger. But the Dutchmen came down with their flocks and herds, their waggons and horses, their families brought up to Christian peace and charity, their strict paternal rule on Bible principles, Old Testament Puritans as they were, with their habits of thrifty industry, to occupy this desolate natural paradise ; and what happened next ? The Zulus, eager to quit the neighbouring domain of their own tyrant, swarmed into Natal, as we are told, eighty or a hundred thousand of them in two or three years ; so glad were the poor people to find

shelter among these very Dutch Boers, who are sometimes accused of habitual cruelty! The Boers sought in vain from the British Government some effectual defence against this embarrassing influx of Zulus and Basutos, which interfered with agricultural and pastoral business, and often threatened the safety of their lives and property. Their Volksraad, when many farms had been abandoned in despair and the whole colony seemed on the verge of ruin, passed an ordinance requiring all the Zulus to depart within fourteen days across either the north or the south frontier. Major Smith, obeying the orders of the Cape Government, refused to act in execution of this decree. It was proposed by the British officials to take a different course with the natives, dividing them into bodies of ten or twelve thousand each, to be located in various parts of the country. The Boers unanimously rejected this plan, which they believed would surely end in a terrible war of races, as the several native communities would find their respective leaders of revolt, and would then join in a combined insurrection. Pretorius solemnly warned the Government that it was delivering up the province to a future reign of general havoc, slaughter, robbery, and conflagration. His remonstrance was met with cold supercilious indifference, and the Boers resolved

to quit Natal for ever. But in those very days, though not in time to forestall this determination, a new Governor and High Commissioner arrived at Capetown, to supersede Sir Henry Pottinger. It was the famous Sir Harry Smith, of whom I have related some anecdotes in my commentary upon the past Kaffir wars. In February, 1848, Sir Harry visited the province of Natal. He met the emigrant party of Boers, three or four hundred large families, at the Tugela Drift, in very inclement weather, men, women, and children huddled together without proper shelter from the rain, on their way up to the Transvaal. The warm-hearted veteran soldier, in an official despatch relating this event, deplores their wretched misery, which he had never seen equalled, said he, except in Massena's invasion of Portugal, by the sudden flight of the population there. He felt for the manly grief of so many husbands and fathers assembled to speak to him, with tears of woe, and to tell him of their disasters in Natal; "the causes," they said, "which have led us to abandon our houses, our standing crops, the fruit-gardens we have planted with our own hands; and why we are seeking a home in the wilderness." Sir Harry Smith, if he could not persuade all these afflicted emigrants to return, exerted his authority in Natal on behalf of those

who might be content to stay. A new land commission was appointed, and the regulations were modified; the Kaffir allotments were separated from the estates held by white men; an efficient police was established to check robbery and other Kaffir disorders. The erection of Dutch churches and schools, with stipends for their ministers and teachers, was liberally promised. These and other wise measures of Government unhappily came too late, after five years of neglect, almost of misrule, to allay their disaffection. A brief passage of civil war that summer, in the Orange River Territory, with the memorable fight of Boomplaats on the 28th of August, secured the political ascendancy of Great Britain. It remained for the British authorities of Natal, having undisputed possession, to see what they could do with the great Native difficulty. Let us see what they have done.

The administration of this remote north-eastern province was, in 1848, taken away from the Cape-town government, which has never been competent or trustworthy to deal with interests so far separate from its proper charge, and so dissimilar to those of the Old Cape Colony. A Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Mr. Martin West, was appointed, with a Colonial Secretary, a Surveyor General, and an Attorney-General, forming both an Executive and

Legislative Council. The Provincial Government has, until within the last few months of 1878, been directly responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But it is subordinate to the Queen's High Commissioner in South Africa, who is the Governor of the Cape Colony, and who has the command of all military and naval forces, and the conduct of affairs with foreign and native tribes.

With regard to the native tribes within the pale, whose condition we are now to examine, it was directed, by the letters patent creating the Natal Government in 1848, that their social organisation, such as it was in a state of barbarism, should not be altered by the interference of British authority; that no law, custom, or usage prevailing among them should be stopped, "except so far as the same might be repugnant to the general principles of humanity." This was quite an original idea, that we should allow a wild nation to live as they pleased, only forbidding them murder and other atrocious crimes, even when perpetrated in obedience to their own notions of duty and religion. The Zulu Kaffirs were not to be forced to comply with any of the customs and practices of what we call European or Christian civilisation. They were only expected to refrain, within the British frontier, from acts of gross in-



humanity, which is supposed to mean bodily cruelty, wanton slaughter, torture, and mutilation. "Native law," in all other respects, was generally endorsed by the authority of the British Government. The ancient tribal polity of Kaffirland was to be upheld for its administration by the hereditary petty chiefs, who were recognized as magistrates and judges. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor was invested with the dignity of Supreme Chief of the Natal Zulus. A Secretary for Native Affairs was next created, by whom this singular power has been exercised, with little intermission, till about two years ago. This gentleman was Mr. Shepstone, now Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., one of the most remarkable public men that ever held office in the British dominions. The son of a Wesleyan missionary stationed near Capetown, and having been brought up from early childhood in frequent converse with native Africans, he was attached, while yet a boy, in the capacity of interpreter, to Sir Benjamin Durban's staff, and afterwards to that of Sir Andreas Stockenström, in the Kaffir wars. When the Fingoes, after the war of 1834, numbering about 17,000, released from slavery, were located in the district between the Keiskamma and the Great Fish River, they were conducted thither in charge of Theophilus

Shepstone. He was intimately acquainted with the different languages of Kaffirland, having studied their grammar to assist in translations of the Bible for their use. In 1846 he was sent to Natal, where he has been ever since in official employment. He had the credit of being the only trustworthy European official capable of exerting a beneficial control over all the native tribes, both in the northern and southern districts, and securing the continued goodwill of the Zulu Kings.

Thirty years have passed over the separate Provincial Government and the sequestered little English community of Natal. Though it has made slight progress, it has suffered but one serious disturbance from 1848 to 1879, yet its annals have not been uneventful. The broad shield of Imperial power has been held over this handful of our countrymen, and over the collected myriads of Zulus, at least fifteen times the number of English, keeping off external interference. Internal quiet, with the solitary exception just referred to, that of the Langalibalele affair in 1873, has been preserved under the management of Sir T. Shepstone. This is a great blessing, and if our Natal Government has no other function than that of a Protectorate, to keep black and white men from killing one another, we ought to be perfectly

satisfied. But there is no progress of social unity ; the English live in three or four towns, by themselves ; the few remaining Dutchmen in the upland farms, by themselves ; the Hindoo coolies on the coast plantations ; the Zulus in big native reserves, 60,000 of them together in one county (Victoria), 40,000 in Klip River, 30,000 in Weenen, a standing cause of suspicious anxiety to their European neighbours. To lessen this reputed danger, so long ago as 1853, Mr. Shepstone asked permission of her Majesty's Government, using his great personal influence over the native mind, to draw off half the Natal Zulus into a then vacant piece of country between the Umtamfuna and the Umzimvubu, or St. John's river, next to Pondoland, south-west of Natal. They would there have dwelt entirely removed from the example and local interests of Zulu Land, which is situated north-east of Natal ; and Mr. Shepstone offered to go and rule over them, as an enlightened and beneficent despotic Chief, trusting to his own moral authority and the political support of the British Government. This scheme, romantic as it may appear, was considered by no means impracticable among those who knew the character and peculiar ability of the man, and the extraordinary confidence which the Zulus then showed in their relation towards him. It was

rejected, however, by the advice of Sir George Grey, then Governor at Cape Town and High Commissioner, who apprehended that it might have a disturbing effect upon other tribes of British Kaffraria.

The continued existence, with no efficient agency of moral instruction or discipline among them, of these huge masses of native barbarism, though seldom actively troublesome, in the heart of the small European Colony, has proved fatal to its economic development, as well as to its social life. Natal is as backward as the least happy of the West Indian islands, estimating its productiveness in due relation to its extent and variety of natural resources. Its revenue is derived in great part from taking customs' toll of the imports and exports on their way to and from the Transvaal, the Orange River State, and other provinces inland. A good portion too of the wool, hides, and wild beasts' skins, with ivory and the like, making nearly three-fourths of the aggregate exports from Natal, must be credited to the upland plains of the interior. The produce of sugar, in 1875, amounted in value to £100,000, while that of coffee, and other tropical growths, was scarcely anything. In short, this settlement is a commercial and industrial failure. It has railway works and harbour works going on, but they are designed for communications from the

sea to the neighbouring countries beyond the Drakensberg which must pay Natal a toll upon their needful traffic. There is no real source or stock of substantial wealth in the province itself, so long as there is no sufficient labouring class. English working men, agricultural or handicraftsmen, will never be tempted by offers of a free passage to emigrate to a country where they would have to stand side by side with Coolies and Kaffirs. English capitalists, if they will take the risks of a plantation for their investment, may well prefer a climate less subject to violent and frequent storms, with ports more convenient for the ordinary course of trade. As for English middle-class family settlers, those who were captivated by Mr. Byrne's lectures on Natal, some thirty years ago, have had time since they went out to repent at leisure, or to impart their sad experiences to a younger generation, who will not follow that example. Natal is what Scotchmen would call a "stickit" colony; while Governors come to it and Governors go, or Lieutenant-Governors at least, the community sticks fast in the old rut, which is the difficulty of making itself at home with the vastly augmented Zulu population. A notable instance of this occurred five years ago, upon which there was a great noise at the time, but I will venture to tell the story once again.

## CHAPTER IX.

### LANGALIBALELE AND BISHOP COLENZO.

Personal.—“Native Law” in the Colony.—The Amahlubi and Putili tribes.—Langalibalele.—Kaffirs buying guns.—Registration of guns.—The Chief disobeys a summons.—Attempted secession of his tribe.—Accidental conflict and homicide.—Surrender of Langalibalele.—Severe treatment of the people.—Trial of Langalibalele and others.—Irregularity of procedure.—Bishop Colenso takes up the case.—And obtains an alteration of the sentence.

THIS narrative chapter, in spite of its title, will not deal so much with personalities, as with a series of incidents, characteristic indeed of certain well-known persons, but here illustrative of the management of Zulus in Natal. The Right Rev. Dr. Colenso, when he first visited his South African diocese in 1853, met Langalibalele, then an interesting youthful Zulu chieftain, and was pleased with his amiable disposition. He also then conceived a high regard and esteem for Mr. Shepstone, whom he gladly hailed as the man specially endowed and ordained for the grand work of civilising the native race, and the zealous assistant of religious missionary efforts. But twenty years had

elapsed from that time, before the conflict of opinions and sentiments upon the trial of Langalibalele in 1874 brought into view strong differences with regard to the character and treatment of the Zulu race in Natal. The Bishop had either, in his earlier impressions of this subject, been too sanguine and enthusiastic, whether or not Mr. Shepstone was then himself so disposed ; or he latterly found reason to put less faith in the qualifications of the Secretary for Native Affairs to rule a quarter of a million Kaffir subjects in a strictly paternal fashion.

It was by the agency of their own hereditary tribal chiefs, with the aid of certain European officials, acting as legal assessors, who were called Administrators of Native Law, that this rule was exercised in the name of "the Supreme Chief," who is the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. The Code of Native Law had been compiled by Mr. Shepstone and others, from a variety of Zulu traditions, more or less trimmed to suit British notions of equity, but still agreeable in the main to native habits and ideas. Polygamy was a fully recognised legal institution, as it continues to be in Natal ; and the purchase of wives, that is to say, of maidens sold at a fixed price by their own fathers or family guardians, but with the female's supposed consent, is equally according to law. It must, how-

ever, be observed that women and girls cannot legally be sold in any other way. The British Government receives a tax upon all such marriages, and has of late years published distinct regulations for contracting and performing them. A hut-tax, levied upon every Zulu householder, was during a long period the only Government exaction from the tribes dwelling in appointed districts under their respective chiefs.

The numerous tribe of the Amahlubi, with the allied or kindred Amangwe, called also Putili, had once been the most powerful in South-Eastern Africa. They had, like other tribes of ancient position in the Natal country, been crushed and dispersed by the conquests of Chaka ; but had gathered and re-entered the territory, about 1848, and occupied the location assigned to them. This was in the upper or western part of Weenen county, on the slopes of the Drakensberg and adjoining lowlands, around the sources of the Little Tugela. It was near the passes leading over that mountain range into Basutoland. The Hlubi tribe grew to the number of 9,400 souls, and possessed many thousand head of cattle. Its chief was Langalibalele, whose melodious name, having the signification of "The Glaring Sun," was given to commemorate his birth in very hot midsummer weather. He was a great native sage, and was reputed a great



magician ; it was believed that he could make the sky, at his pleasure, shed welcome rains, or parch the soil with drought ; and people came from afar to bribe him with gifts of cattle, that he might do them good. He was also a great patriarch, with I know not how many wives, old and young, but with fifty-four sons, and sixty-eight daughters, many of these married to influential members of an extensive variety of Kaffir tribes. The Amahlubi under his chieftainship seem to have been quiet and inoffensive during a quarter of a century ; there was no complaint against him or them. Bishop Colenso, when he visited that tribe, was rather gratified by their apparent promising condition. From his description, and the reports of conversations with Langalibalele, that African nobleman would seem to have been a peaceable, rather timid, good-natured sort of person ; not at all turbulent or ambitious, but fond of arguing his own case, and somewhat obstinate when found fault with, like many weak characters. It is probable that, as he became an elderly man, he was losing much of his personal authority over the fiery youthful spirits of his kindred, who, perhaps, did not entirely believe in his super-human powers.

A most pernicious cause of endless dangers to all the states and provinces of South Africa was set in

operation, from about 1870, by the employment of innumerable Kaffirs at the Diamond Fields of West Griqua Land, working for high money wages and instantly buying firearms, which were stored for sale by thousands close to the diggings. The mischievous trade was found so profitable there, and colonial merchants were so unscrupulous, that they soon imported whole shiploads of muskets, rifles, and ammunition, sent in everywhere, to be offered to native purchasers all over Kaffirland. There were, from that time, three principal channels of trade by which English manufactures of this kind were copiously introduced; from the Cape Colony, to the Diamond Fields; secondly, through Natal; thirdly, by way of the Portuguese port of Delagoa Bay; there was also a great deal of smuggling on several points of the eastern coast. The interior traffic was briskly carried on between the various Kaffir nations and their foreign caterers, so that it has lately been reckoned that nearly half a million of these European instruments of warfare are now in possession of the natives. Commercial and official apologists for this very profitable sort of imports have been wont to say, in a jaunty confident manner, that the Kaffirs do not know how to use guns, and will be sure to spoil them, or to waste their cartridges and gunpowder; (but we

know that the Basutos have acquired the art of making their own gunpowder ;) and it is alleged that the old native method of fighting with assegais and knobkerries was more effective than their unscientific use of firearms. Be it so ; there is another evil to be considered which arises from the abundant supply of these weapons of a superior race to the tenfold more numerous population of Kaffirs. It has naturally excited a warlike, restless, violent, and vain-glorious spirit among the native youth, who are but grown-up children in mind and moral character. A child who gets hold of a gun fancies himself possessed of a power that makes him equal to the strongest and cleverest man. The young Kaffirs, Zulus and others, of the present day care for nothing else ; they dream of nothing else, and will not work for any other recompense. We cannot lure them to industry by offering those artificial comforts and conveniences of life, articles of clothing, furniture, utensils, tools, and even ornaments of European fashion, which they utterly disdain. But the chance of purchasing a musket, or possibly an improved species of firearms, will lead any spirited young fellow of dark brown complexion to walk several hundred miles, in search of highly paid employment for a few weeks, to the end that he may procure the coveted instrument of

mischief, and shoulder it on his long homeward march in triumph. This universal custom, within less than ten years past, has revolutionised the ideas and feelings of all the native race. It has undermined the political influence of the elder chiefs, such as Langalibalele himself, who were disposed to remain in orderly subjection to the British Government. It has broken a peace of very long continuance, both in the Trans-Kei and on the Tugela frontier; and north of the Transvaal, and all round the colonial borders, there is a formidable stirring and heaving of warlike ambition, prompted by the owning and handling of guns.

This was the *teterrima causa* of poor Langalibalele's trouble in 1873; and it is worthy of remark that the official gentlemen and other respectable Natal colonists, who forwarded his prosecution, were themselves a little concerned in the brisk doings at the Kimberley diamond pit. Three of the sons of the Natal Secretary for Native Affairs were employers of Zulu labour in those brilliant diggings, and the hire they allowed went to purchase guns. So did the money earned by the men who were sent up to West Griqua Land by Mr. MacFarlane, the district magistrate having supervision of the Amahlubi tribe, and of the Putili, in their assigned location. It was quite

notorious in that province, and elsewhere, that the natives were getting easy possession, by a short spell of work for hire in each individual case, of any quantity of firearms. What was done by the Natal Government? A tax was levied on their importation, for the sake of revenue; and on the 14th of February, 1872, a circular was issued to the resident magistrates of the native districts, ordering that the guns should be registered, and the holders should take out a licence. This circular, it appears from all the evidence in Langelibalele's case, was not properly or regularly put in execution, but was occasionally used by a district magistrate who wanted a legal occasion for chastising somebody he thought worthy of punishment. The register shows that during three years, 1871 and the next two, only a score of guns were registered among eight populous tribes, dwelling in 15,000 huts. The majority of those actually registered were sent in by Langelibalele; but he did not himself care to have any guns, and of his thirty grown-up sons, only two were possessors of such an article. Nevertheless, he seems to have tacitly permitted the young men of his tribe, like hundreds and thousands of other Zulus, to go and work at the diamond fields, far away beyond the other side of the Orange River State, and to bring home the coveted prize of a young

man's ambition. "I do not go there," said the old gentleman ; "it is the white men who scratch about the ground and look for diamonds. I sit at home, and am well known as a great chief. The white people take our young men there to work, and to buy guns with the money they earn ; I am no purchaser of these guns." This was Langalibalele's excuse for giving himself just as little trouble as he could, but quite as much as the other Zulu tribal chiefs would do, in the matter of gun registration. Some of the Indunas, when spoken to about the number of firearms in the hands of the people around, professed to have had a notion that they were furnished on purpose to enable the tribe along the Drakensberg frontier to guard the passes against predatory Bushmen. This duty had indeed been specially entrusted to the Amahlubi, who had always performed it well.

But in the months of July and August, 1873, the resident magistrate at Estcourt, who had previously found fault with Langalibalele's too independent bearing, repeatedly summoned him to send in for registration the guns owned by young men of his tribe. Langalibalele made a variety of objections and excuses, saying that he did not know who the young men were, or what guns they had, or where they kept them. "How can I know all the maggots in a piece of

beef?" The old fellow was lazy, and had a sore leg, and he is said to have been in the habit of borrowing now and then a bottle of rum, which may have been taken "for medicine." Mr. MacFarlane thought his answers very impudent, but Mr. Mellersh, an official of lesser rank, did not think so. A native agent of the magistracy, who was named Mtshitshizelwa, next conveyed a more emphatic and peremptory message from Mr. MacFarlane to the Hlubi chief. It was delivered loudly in public, before the assembled men of the tribe; and Langalibalele, probably wanting to show his own people that he was not afraid, seems to have treated the official message with scornful disrespect. He is described as turning his back on the messenger, and impatiently denouncing the injustice of the white men, who would take away the guns from his "boys," after they had fairly earned them by honest work at the diamond fields. This was a popularity-seeking attitude on the part of the foolish chief, and was meant also to cover his own weakness, for it is most likely that the young men would not have obeyed him if he had commanded them to bring the guns. They had indeed some cause to fear that if the guns were sent in to the magistrate's office, the business of registering and stamping might be delayed indefinitely, and Mr. MacFarlane talked about a testi-

monial of personal character and loyalty being required for the holder of a gun licence. The Zulus generally, having actually got the guns in their hands, and considering them fairly their own, were resolved to keep them without any licence or registration. Langalibalele was not more competent than any other chief of a tribe in Natal to enforce their compliance with the official circular. His authority over the Amahlubi was limited to the customary administration of Native Law. The British Government of Natal was then presided over by Sir Benjamin Pine, in his second term of office, having occupied the same post from 1850 to 1856. That active and experienced Lieutenant-Governor, acting upon the advice of Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, had to deal with Mr. MacFarlane's very urgent representations of the alleged contumacy of Langalibalele, who neglected to attend his summons at Estcourt. A second official messenger, Mahoiza, was sent to bid him come to the town of Pietermaritzburg, to the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs. Langalibalele shuffled and shirked; he did not refuse to come, but he said, "How about my sore leg?" It was proved that he did, in fact, suffer from an old ailment of that kind, and the limb was much swollen; but Mr. Shepstone's orders were imperative; if he



could not walk, he must travel on horseback, or in a waggon.

Langalibalele, it appears, was in a facing-both-ways posture of mind, with divided resolution, between fear of the anger and contempt of his own people, and fear of disobeying the British Government. He sent word to Mr. MacFarlane, it being Saturday, that he could not attend at Estcourt, as he was ordered to go to Pietermaritzburg on Monday, and he promised Mahoiza to do so. But whatever may have been his private intentions, the other leading men of the Hlubi tribe, and of their kindred and neighbours the Putili, had already resolved on a desperate course. They did not mean rebellion or insurrection, but secession from the province of Natal, renewing the expedient of their former voluntary departure, in 1848, from the Zulu Kingdom of Panda, and following likewise the example of the Dutch Boers, in their repeated exodus from the British provinces. With this view, during the vexatious discussions with Mr. MacFarlane, the Zulus had been quietly driving away their great herds of cattle, and packing up their moveable property. One of the circumstances less easily accounted for is that they had been storing up hoards of corn or mealies in the caves not far from their location, as if they had thought of standing upon the defensive in that district,

which they never attempted to do. It is stated also that they began to grind saltpetre, to burn willow wood for charcoal, and to collect sulphur for the composition of gunpowder, which they learnt from the neighbouring Basutos ; and that they purchased a number of saddles and bridles, whereas the Zulus are not a horse-riding people, but their friends the Basutos were. Putting all this and all that together, it was the opinion of Sir Benjamin Pine and his Ministers and Executive Council, that Langalibalele's tribe were preparing to wage open war, in alliance with the Basutos, as soon as they could pass the mountain frontier.

Looking back upon the affair now more calmly, it seems probable that the Amahlubi, and perhaps most of the Natal Zulus, were quite disposed to resist, if needful, by an armed insurrection, with the aid of other Kaffirs, any wholesale confiscation of the guns they had been permitted to buy. No government has yet dared to attempt such a measure, as there is no British force adequate to compel its real execution. But that Langalibalele, such a man as he was, devoid of all commanding qualities of a statesman or warrior, ever contemplated heading such a national movement, is altogether unlikely. He was a shuffler and muddler in his political and personal behaviour, a feeble impos-

tor in his pretensions to rule, as in his ridiculous arts of magic. Oddly enough, by the exaggerating influence of English party zeal, on one side and the other, in the noisy controversy upon this case raised by Dr. Colenso, the figure of Langalibalele became transformed into that of a patriot, hero, and martyr, as viewed by some, a malignant traitor and rebel, as others regarded him ; while his real character was insignificant.

The Monday morning came, November 3rd, and Langalibalele made a show of setting out upon his journey to Pietermaritzburg. He rode part of the way, then stopped for the night, and turned back to his own place. He feared to be made prisoner on the road, or on his arrival at the capital. There was a muster of the Colonial Volunteer forces all over those parts of the country, and the Minister of Native Affairs had come up to Estcourt. Langalibalele fancied all this was preparatory to the suppression of himself and his tribe. He was urged by several of his foremost men, one Mabudhle in particular, to secede from British jurisdiction. He gave the word at length, and started with many companions and followers towards the Drakensberg, though he seemed at first uncertain whether he should not rather go across the Buffalo river.

Now, the mere act of quitting the territory of Natal without the permission of Sir Benjamin Pine, as Supreme Chief of the Zulus there resident, was considered then by the Pietermaritzburg authorities to be an act of rebellion, according to the Native Code of Law, though it would not have been so by the Common Law of England, or by Roman-Dutch Civil Law, still partially recognised in Natal. The Lieutenant-Governor thereupon instantly proclaimed a sentence of outlawry against Langalibalele, and ordered his pursuit by a military force. It was also directed that the location hitherto occupied by the Hlubi tribe, which was at Epangweni, near the foot of the Drakensberg range, should be closely invested. The Bushman's River Pass, 8,000 feet above the plains, was for this purpose occupied by a small party of English volunteers and native mounted police. It is pretty certain that the Zulus had no immediate intention of fighting their way out of the colony. Langalibalele had commanded his people to avoid meeting the Government troops, and all they wanted just then was to remove their property and get free from British control. They did not molest or threaten anybody, or commit any sort of depredation or damage. Although some carried fire-arms, probably about 300 in all, those who personally accompanied

the chief had but two small flasks of powder. He, and many of his followers, with about 3,000 oxen, thus quietly passed over the mountains into the land of the Basutos. Unhappily, there was one small party, headed by Mabuhle, an Induna of the tribe, which came into hostile collision with a few of the Natal Mounted Carbineers, under the late Colonel Durnford, then Major Durnford. This took place quite unexpectedly, at the end of an interview and rather angry talk between the Zulus and the Englishmen, just beyond the Natal frontier in the Bushman's River Pass, near the mountain summit called Giant's Castle. The Zulus were irritated because some of the native followers of Major Durnford's party had taken a cow of their herd, and killed it for dinner, and others had stolen the guns and assegais of some of the Zulus while they lay asleep. The English commander offered to pay for the loss, and remonstrated in a friendly manner with the Zulus, entreating them to return to their proper location. No one that day knew where Langalibalele had gone. After some altercation, Major Durnford ordered his party to withdraw, and they were about to do so, when Mabuhle and some of those with him opened fire on the Englishmen, killing Mr. Erskine, a son of the Colonial Secretary, and two other volunteers with two of our Basutos. There was

an exchange of volleys, but nothing like a set conflict, which the officer in command felt it his duty to avoid ; the Englishmen galloped away. Langalibalele heard of this affair two days afterwards, and was displeased with Mabuhle for having fired. A stronger force, under Captain Allison and Mr. Hawkins, was sent into Basuto Land to procure the arrest of the fugitive chief, and the surrender of his tribe's cattle. He cast himself on the hospitality of Molappo, the son of the great Basuto chief Moshesh, with whom he had an old friendship. But this did not avail for his protection ; Molappo was persuaded by the British residents in that country, Mr. C. D. Griffith and Major Bell, to hand over Langalibalele, with two of his sons, his brother, two headmen of the tribe, and seventy other prisoners, who were brought back for trial in Natal.

The chastisement of the Amahlubi was then proceeded with by measures of extreme severity, which failed to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent, causing much loss of life, and great distress to the women and children of dispersed families. Not that there was any deliberate or wilful cruelty on the part of the colonial forces employed in capturing the mountain strongholds, the caves and dens and hiding-places, to which the miserable remnant of the broken tribe, with their scanty store of food, had fled after

the ruin of their chief. Captain G. A. Lucas, formerly of the 73rd regiment, being resident magistrate of Klip River district, was the officer in command of the Frontier Guard and "loyal Zulus," during these operations ; and he was, upon a strict inquiry into the facts, fully exonerated by Lord Carnarvon from any charge of permitting excesses on the part of his troops. But from the peculiar situation and circumstances of the unhappy people, their forcible dislodgement could not be attempted without inflicting death upon some helpless non-combatants, though unintentionally or even unawares. It is painful, however, to read the evidence of witnesses proving that, in one instance at least, those who had got into a cavern were destroyed by suffocation with the smoke of a fire, and by shooting in among them ; and that these were not fighting men. This was done by the native auxiliaries, and not in the presence of any European. The whole number killed was about 200 ; and the men having taken flight, the women, girls, and children were removed to other districts, where they were placed in charge of friendly tribes to be maintained at the expense of Government. It is to be regretted that Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, was not authorised rather to try his extraordinary powers of conciliation and persuasion with the Amahlubi, instead

of hunting them out in this merciless fashion, "eating up" their numerous herds of cattle, burning their houses and scattering their families all over the country, where they had dwelt peacefully and blamelessly during twenty-five years. But the Natal Government felt itself weak, supported by a mere handful of white men, amidst twenty-fold the number of Kaffirs with 150 tribal chiefs; and weak ruling authorities cannot afford, I suppose, to be merciful upon certain occasions. They ought indeed to draw the line somewhere, in the measure of retaliatory punishment; and the next step, which was turned against the Amangwe or Putili, the kindred neighbouring tribe, for having sheltered part of the Hlubi refugees and concealed their property for them, seems to have transgressed the equitable limit. Mr. MacFarlane and Captain Lucas not only deposed and imprisoned their acting chief, Umbalo, who died three months afterwards, but destroyed the kraals and huts of their location, and confiscated all their oxen, about 9,000 head, with every other kind of property, so that the people, estimated at 5,000, suffered from destitution. These acts were done by the authority of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Benjamin Pine, with the advice, it is to be presumed, of Mr. Shepstone; and they do certainly appear deserving of Lord Carnarvon's subsequent



reproof. But it was a less considerable misuse of official power, in the defective legality of the judicial procedure against Langalibalele himself, that occasioned her Majesty's Secretary of State to intervene with an adverse decision, which Dr. Colenso exerted himself to obtain.

The trial of Langalibalele for the crimes of rebellion, conspiracy, sedition, and treason was held in January at Pietermaritzburg. In any other part of her Majesty's dominions, such a case would have been submitted to the Supreme Court of Local Jurisdiction for the administration of the ordinary criminal law. This ordinary law was usually applied likewise in Natal to the trial of natives charged with such crimes as murder ; but it would not have borne out an indictment of treason against Langalibalele, or of conspiracy to subvert the Queen's Government in Natal. Sir Benjamin Pine was therefore most unfortunately advised to rely upon his assumed powers under the supposed Native Law, as Supreme Chief of the native tribes, having the same kind of authority over minor tribal chiefs, in Natal, that Panda or Ketchwhyho might claim over those in Zulu Land. It is true that the definitive establishment in 1848 or 1849 of British government in Natal was accompanied by an ordinance nominally investing the Lieutenant-Governor

with that character of "Supreme Chief," in accordance with the proclamation, which stated that all the "native laws, customs, and usages" not repugnant to humanity should remain in force. But the expedient of resorting to this paramount exercise of an authority grounded theoretically upon Native Law for the purpose of framing a prosecution which English common law, in view of the evidence to be brought forward, could not have sustained, was a fatal error on the part of the Natal Government. It is very likely that some lesser charge than that of treason might have been successfully preferred against Langalibalele and other members of his tribe; and that the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of a regular Court of Justice, would have passed without dispute. No other method of judicial procedure was safe or proper in a community which had not, like that of Jamaica under Governor Eyre in 1865, witnessed the proclamation of Martial Law. Sir Benjamin Pine and his Executive Council put themselves in a false position at the outset of these proceedings; but the fault seems to lie in the previous neglect of her Majesty's Government to provide a more exact definition of the nature and extent of the existing legal jurisdiction in Natal. The fact is, that her Majesty had, and still has, in Natal a large population of native subjects whom her govern-

ment is unable to rule by English law. The exigencies of colonial government, however, with regard to its native policy, demanded that some way should be found of dealing with Langelibalele as a rebel and traitor, which would involve the forfeiture of his privileges as a tribal chief, the destruction of the Amahlubi and confiscation of all their property. Had he been simply convicted of a misdemeanour, or of an ordinary felony, these desirable political consequences would not have accrued. This is why the Natal Government did what it did in 1874, and Bishop Colenso was able to show that, in so doing, it had committed a serious fault; though I must say that the Bishop himself erred in several particulars during the controversy upon Langelibalele's case.

The prisoner was tried by a Court which consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor, as Supreme Chief, the Secretary for Native Affairs, several of the Resident Magistrates of Districts, here styled Administrators of Native Law, and several Indunas or native tribal magistrates, who exercise the petty jurisdiction under their chiefs, within each particular tribe. Now, it does seem objectionable to English notions, that the chief Executive officials should be the chief judges in a trial for resisting, defying, and attempting to subvert the Executive. Of course, there was no jury, and

what is worse, there was no counsel for the defence of the prisoner; he was told that he might have a barrister merely to cross-examine the witnesses, but not to address the Court; so he had no counsel upon his trial. The charge of treason and rebellion was made out by alleging that, according to Native Law, the mere wilful neglect of a summons to go and wait upon the Supreme Chief amounts to treason, and the mere act of quitting the Supreme Chief's territorial jurisdiction without leave is an act of rebellion; so that Langalibalele was outlawed simply because, instead of going to Estcourt or to Pietermaritzburg, he went over the mountains into Basuto Land. This is rather strong doctrine for the subjects of Queen Victoria; and it contrasts too forcibly with the legal opinion which was given by the Attorney-General at Capetown upon the secession of the Dutch Boers in 1836, that they were guilty of no offence in quitting the British Colonial jurisdiction. It is scarcely practicable, one would think, to teach the Kaffirs to regard the pale of each province or district as a prison in which they may be kept by force at the discretion of their white superiors: they are a liberty-loving race of migratory habits, and they have the example of the Boers for repeated changes of abode. But the Amahlubi and their Chief had in 1848 seceded from

the jurisdiction of King Panda, departing then without their Supreme Chief's permission out of Zulu Land, and had been received, as tens of thousands of other Zulus have been received, into the British dominion. It is obvious that the alleged principle of Native Law had been constantly ignored by the Natal Government. Failing in this ground of accusation, the Government Prosecutor would have urged that it was a treasonable act to remove the cattle of the tribe out of the territory, inasmuch as the Supreme Chief had a contingent reserved claim to any cattle that might be wanted for the public service. Indeed, there were instances in which the cattle of emigrant Zulu tribes had been surrendered to the Zulu King while the people themselves were admitted to British protection. But Langalibalele, though guilty of taking away his own and his tribe's cattle, had not actually resisted their recapture when overtaken in Basuto Land. These were the principal issues raised in his case, but there was much tedious evidence, mostly of native witnesses, of the messenger sent to him by Mr. MacFarlane and Mr. Shepstone, testifying that he evaded their summons in a rather impudent manner, and treated them with disrespect. There was a good deal of vague rumour and loose assertion, which was not strictly evidence, concerning warlike preparations among the Hlubi

young men, their practising with their guns, and their mystic ceremony of sprinkling their knees with a certain magical "medicine," to give them strength for the battle. All this, however, was reduced by Dr. Colenso's subsequent investigation to very small proportions. The Court was nevertheless easily convinced that Langalibalele must be found guilty; he was therefore sentenced to imprisonment for life. Next came the trials of seven of his sons, one of whom, Malumbule, had fired at the persons sent to arrest him in Basuto Land; and of two Indunas of their tribe. The Secretary for Native Affairs presided at this trial; the prisoners were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, Malumbule to five years. It was resolved to send Langalibalele and this son of his to undergo their punishment in Robben Island, which is in Table Bay at Capetown, and where Macomo and other rebellious Kaffir chiefs had in former years been confined. An act was speedily passed by the Legislature of the Cape Colony to legalise the reception of the two prisoners from Natal. Before, however, they were conveyed to Robben Island, their case was taken up by the right reverend prelate whose name has been often mentioned.

Bishop Colenso, having long personally known Langalibalele, and having been shocked by the ruin

of the Amahlubi, took great pains to sift the evidence affecting this case. He was on terms of intimate friendship with Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, and he privately discussed with him every point that was involved in it; they examined some witnesses together. A violent conflict of opinion and sentiment arose between them; and it is painful to find, in the published official correspondence, traces of acrimonious personal feeling, with injurious references to several of Mr. Shepstone's family, which ought in charity to have been withheld, and should in candour have been retracted when shown to be groundless. In the main, with regard to the irregularity and substantial illegality of the trial, the conviction, and the sentence passed on Langalibalele, the Bishop was undoubtedly right. He was right in standing up for the English principles of civil freedom and of public justice, which he insisted upon claiming for men of every race and colour in the Queen's dominions. He furnished the fallen Zulu chief with the means of presenting an appeal, drawn and pleaded by the best legal assistance, to the Supreme Court in Natal; and when that was finally rejected, Dr. Colenso memorialised the Secretary of State, came himself to England on purpose, and worked indefatigably to obtain redress for his

African client. In this praiseworthy endeavour, while suffering much obloquy and sacrificing his domestic comfort, the Bishop finally succeeded. Before the end of that year 1874, Lord Carnarvon, having duly considered every statement and argument on both sides of the whole question, decided that Langalibalele was unfairly and unlawfully treated by Sir Benjamin Pine, though he was really guilty of some offence, and deserving of some punishment. Her Majesty's Government therefore directed that the deposed Chief and his son were to be released from their imprisonment, but not to be allowed to return home to Natal; they were to reside near Capetown, at a house and farm provided for them and their families, in all private comfort but under a certain surveillance. The Amahlubi tribe, who had in Lord Carnarvon's judgment been harshly and too severely dealt with, should so far as possible be relieved, but not replaced in their former location. As for the Putili tribe, there was no proof of their complicity with any rebellious movement; they must be restored and compensated for their heavy losses. Sir Benjamin Pine was superseded in his office as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal; and Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out with a temporary commission to put certain affairs in order there.



## CHAPTER X.

### SIR GARNET WOLSELEY IN NATAL.

The Langalibalele controversy.—The new Administrator.—Remission of punishments.—Sad fate of the Putili tribe.—Re-settlement of people.—Waste of their property.—No accounts of sales.—Court-martial on the Natal Volunteers.—Lord Carnarvon's proposed reforms.—The Legislative Council.—Existing laws.—Regulated polygamy.—“Sad and degraded lot” of women.—Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer.

THE Earl of Carnarvon, in December, 1874, had bestowed much of his attention at the Colonial Office upon the affairs of our Zulu nursery in Natal. He had personally talked both with Mr. Shepstone and Bishop Colenso, as the former was sent to England on purpose, while the latter came of his own accord, to explain the case of Langalibalele. Lieutenant-Governor and Supreme Native Chief Sir Benjamin Pine had plied the Secretary of State with indignant vindications of the course which he and Mr. Shepstone pursued in that unhappy affair. The Capetown Government, represented by Sir Henry Barkly and Mr. Molteno, had taken up the wondrous strain of

colonial and official protestations, that the peace of all South Africa would be endangered if one poor old broken-down scamp of a Zulu chieftain, after the utter dispersion of his tribe and confiscation of their wealth, should be released from his Napoleonic captivity on Robben Island. Was he not reputed a mighty conjurer and rain-maker, and would not the Kaffirs everywhere believe that he had won his cause by superhuman power, bringing about the destructive floods which had done so much damage in the Cape Colony? Robben Island, where the great Kaffir general, Macomo, was kept till he died, and where "the crafty and politic Umhala," and "the celebrated prophet, Lynx," had to expiate their troublesome behaviour, was the only secure place of detention for Langalibalele. Notwithstanding these vehement representations, Lord Carnarvon felt it right to allow the fallen chief a more comfortable residence, with as many wives as he wished to have about him, on the mainland four miles from Capetown. There he still lives in domestic tranquillity; visitors arriving in the colony go to see him as though he were a caged lion, and buy his photograph, showing the entire family circle about him, to put into an album with views of Longwood and the tomb at St. Helena. The poor old beery impostor, the client of Bishop Colenso!

The Kaffir Caractacus, or call him a savage Owen Glendower, who vainly bearded the British Lion of Imperial Majesty in the person of Sir Benjamin Pine!

It would be amusing, but for the serious public risks and the bitter private quarrels that were incurred, to review the wild exaggerations of sentimental partisanship on both sides of the great "Atrocities in Natal" discussion. The Peace Society and the Aborigines Protection Society of England, against whom I should be sorry to say a word in cases where they are correctly informed of the facts, went in their zeal, as the Bishop likewise did, somewhat too far in denouncing imaginary wilful cruelties. There were probably some actual cruelties perpetrated by native auxiliary forces, and unauthorised by their European commanders, in the hunting down of the Hlubi tribe; and that wholesale extirpation of a large community of our fellow-subjects was a deplorable mistake; it is the curse of governments which seek, in the same territory, to rule different races unequally by different laws. On the other hand, looking at the panic of fear and rage with which the white men of Natal are now and then stricken by the motion of a Zulu hand or foot, as by the Amahlubi driving their cattle to the mountains in 1873, English settlers will hardly be

encouraged to entrust their capital and families to that colony ; nor will the British statesman esteem it a very convenient possession. There is no blame to the colonists or to the official persons of Natal intended by these remarks ; they felt, spoke, and acted much the same as other Englishmen under those unhappy circumstances would be likely to do. There was a declaration signed by sixty or seventy Natal clergymen, ministers, and missionaries of various churches and of various nationalities, that they considered "the action of the Natal Government throughout humane, lenient, just, and urgently necessary." Well, Her Majesty's Government in London did not so consider it when Lord Carnarvon deliberately gave judgment a twelvemonth after the event. Theological antipathies, from one or two sarcastic allusions to Dr. Colenso's criticism of the Pentateuch, may have entered a little into the political ethics of some of his clerical opponents in Langelibalele's case. One reverend gentleman professed to regard the fate of that heathen personage as a divine judgment for his heinous sin of pretending to magic power. The curiosities of this controversy, which lie buried in Parliamentary Blue Books, are a tempting study ; but I must pass on to subsequent events. Natal seems even now to be distracted by incessant social and ecclesiastical divisions,

with rival Bishops and Deans and ritualistic squabbles, which do not belong to my subject; but Dr. Colenso will reappear in the account of more recent transactions.

The beginning of a new administrative era was to date from the spring of 1875, when Lieutenant-Governor Sir B. Pine had been recalled, and Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, fresh from Ashantee victories, went to reorganise British rule over the Zulus in Natal. As temporary administrator for specific purposes, until the appointment of a new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Garnet Wolseley, aided by an able staff, worked there about five months. His efforts were principally directed to the re-settlement or re-distribution of the tribes which had been driven out of their locations, and to the establishment of an armed police force. These tasks were executed by him with characteristic precision and punctuality; and I may be allowed here to say that military officers of proved judgment make some of the best Colonial Governors placed over her Majesty's remote dominions. They are not so apt to be frightened and flurried, in case of a native insurrection or the mere rumour and imagination of it, as some of the mere political and civil administrators have been; nor do they so readily indulge the visionary ambition of aggrandising pro-

vincial rule by needless annexations, and scientific schemes of geographical extension. I am inclined to think a clear-headed veteran soldier, governing Jamaica in October, 1865, would have managed to avoid bloodshed and hangings and floggings to the excessive amount proved in that lamentable instance. And I believe that such a Governor, with an accurate knowledge of war as it really is, would have thought twice before invading the Zulu Kingdom, without urgent necessity, in January of the present year.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, it need scarcely be said, did what he had to do very well. In the first place, a great many of the minor penal sentences passed on individuals of the Amahlubi were cancelled; and Lord Carnarvon disallowed the assignment of those who were convicted, to be kept in forced servitude under private employers, which had been arranged by the Natal Government. The Aborigines' Protection Society is entitled to the credit of obtaining this salutary amendment. The next business, prompted by a sense of justice as well as humanity, was to reinstate the Putili tribe, who were now pronounced innocent, in their proper location, and to give them some pecuniary compensation for their losses. A proclamation to the natives, drawn up in that quaint style of affected child-like simplicity which some

philosophers deem suitable for addressing a non-European people, was meant to explain these apparent concessions. The Putili were mentioned here by their other name of "Amangwe." I quote the English version of this touching official document, written by Mr. Shepstone at the Colonial Office in Downing Street :

"But all salvation and death are in the hands of the Queen, who says, We have looked into, inquired about, and considered this matter on both sides, and his is Our decision :

"Langalibalele, We release from imprisonment on the island in the sea, but he shall not return to Natal.

"The Amahlubi may, if they choose, when that is prepared which is to be prepared, go to him ; but he will not be allowed to go to the Amahlubi.

"And for the matter of the Amangwe, the Queen says, the punishment which has been given to them, while the news was still warm, has surpassed their in ; heaviness is laid upon people that they may be warned, but not die ; the Amangwe may return to the land that they lived upon and were taken from, and may cultivate it, but the Queen's eye will always be upon them. If they are obedient to the laws,

and if they have ears to hear, she will say, Let them be protected and assisted, that they may flourish and grow fat as before ; but if they will not listen, and love to walk the paths which are not right, whom will they question if trouble clings to them ?

“The great Chiefs who rule for the Queen the countries of England say, The black people of Natal must know, that to contend against and point their weapons at the Chiefs appointed over them is a great transgression. Let them take warning from what they have seen.”

The Amangwe or Putili, numbering about 5,000, which was half the size of Langalibalele's tribe, had inhabited a wide valley of rich and well wooded land, through which runs the Little Tugela river. It was then well cultivated, and more thickly huddled than any other district of the country. The chief, son of old Putili, was an orphan boy ; one of his uncles, Baso, had left the tribe ; the other, Umbalo, who was anything but a conspirator, died very soon after their disasters. At the end of December, 1873, the force under Captain G. A. Lucas utterly ravaged, plundered and destroyed this location of a people, concerning whom, in the words of the Secretary of State, December 3rd, 1874, “I can discover no



indication of their conspiracy or combination with Langalibalele, beyond the vague and uncorroborated apprehension of some possible movement on their part in connection with the supposed tendencies of his tribe ; and therefore I can see no good reason for any punishment on this ground." Every hut in the location was burnt, many huts being full of grain. Every article of household or personal property was taken from the people. Many of the women and children were carried off to servitude. Their treatment was seen with indignation by the late Colonel Durnford, R.E., one of the officers recently slain at Isanhlwana, and who commanded at the affair of Bushman's River Pass on the 4th of November, 1873. To the honour of that gallant and experienced officer, he interfered for the protection of these miserable victims of colonial vengeance. This was in September, 1874. He got into an altercation with Mr. Henrique Shepstone and Mr. John Shepstone, the Native Affairs' Secretary's sons, and themselves holding office, who were then busy in that district. Colonel Durnford insisted on getting an order signed, after some delays and demurs at Pietermaritzburg, for the liberation and restoration of all the Putili. He had some difficulty, it appears, in the case of those men who had been compelled to bind themselves for a

term of years to private servitude. Their detention, he wrote in remonstrance, would be "a breach of faith on the part of the Governing Power, which could never be intended by his Excellency;" and he demanded that work and food should be furnished to the men by Government till they got back their own land. The sorrows inflicted upon so many of the families which were violently broken up, and one or two instances of foul outrage perpetrated on girls by the native men to whom they had been assigned as servants, could not so easily be repaired. All this was the "punishment" of the Amangwe, which the Queen was made to say had "surpassed their sin," while the Queen's Minister of State thought they had not deserved any punishment at all. "But all salvation and death are in the hands," for a time, of persons in office on the spot!

The new administration therefore, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, had to redress some real injuries and to relieve some distress among the natives, in spite of the loud declaration of the colonists, in their farewell addresses to Sir Benjamin Pine, that the "misguided rebels" were spared as much as possible. But it is right to observe that in one particular, the treatment of women and children belonging to the scattered tribes, there was much imaginative and uncharitable

misconception in England. By far the greater proportion of these poor creatures were not made the subjects of direct compulsion, but were found destitute after the flight of the men, their husbands, fathers, and brothers, and were therefore given into the care of any householders, Europeans or natives, who were disposed to allow them food and shelter in return for their labour. No European, in any district of Natal, is said to have been guilty of abusing this trust, though one or two natives were accused of so doing. The colonists generally resented such an imputation, as they well might, when it was published in London by the Peace Society. The effect was naturally to excite a prejudice against all those who ventured to disapprove of the conduct of the Natal government; and some of the testimonials freely signed by respectable colonists on the other side were recommended by this feeling, more than by any deliberate examination of what had actually taken place. It is difficult for any of us to be impartial, or even truthful, when party passions are indulged by unjust aspersions on the community to which we happen to belong.

The Putili were officially reported by Mr. Henrique Shepstone, in January, 1875, to have already returned with few exceptions to their old location; they were "nearly all comfortably settled down, and many of

them working in their gardens." He then found no actual distress among them, but he made them advances of money and food. Of the Amahlubi, above 500 had been "assigned" for three years to service of farmers or others ; and this was now put an end to, but they were not again permitted to live together as a tribe. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who arrived in Natal at the end of March, lost not a day in making the needful inquiries and arrangements. On the 10th of April, he ratified a scheme prepared by Mr. Shepstone at his request for the future management of the location below the Drakensberg range, extending to 145,000 acres ; to which some of the Amahlubi would be admitted, but to be divided into several detached portions, in the open lands away from the rocky mountain gorges ; and with the intervening plots occupied by people of other tribes whose loyalty could be relied upon, with headmen or petty chiefs ruling each but a small number of families. A narrow belt or strip of land to be held by European farmers was to intersect this native reserve, commanding the approach to the Drakensberg frontier passes ; and the native tribes were to be superintended by a Resident, who should report weekly to the Secretary for Native Affairs. This official was further intended to hear appeals from the chiefs and headmen, to collect the hut-tax, marriage-

tax, and other dues, to keep a register of the population, and to encourage industrial occupation, improved dwellings, the culture of crops, and the service of young men for wages in the colony. It was an excellent scheme; but Sir Garnet at the same time was careful to make strict inquiry what had become of the property of the Amahlubi and Putili which had been swept off their locations sixteen months before. His minutes upon this financial topic, setting three members of his own staff at once to extract from the Colonial Government officials the precise information he required, are characteristic of the keen, determined spirit of the man. The officials, the Treasurer and Secretaries of Natal, were unfortunately not in possession of any particular accounts, much less any vouchers, of the moneys received from the sales of many thousand head of cattle, and of mealies or maize and Kaffir corn, hides, and other chattels "taken from natives" by the troops engaged in harrying the two persecuted Zulu tribes. This was a circumstance which appears to me highly discreditable to the Natal Government, but Lord Carnarvon was unable to do more than censure, as he did in July, "the loose and inaccurate manner" in which those accounts had been kept. There was nothing but a mere guess at the numbers of cattle seized and sold, by whom and to whom the Colonial

authorities never knew ; the cattle taken from Putili's tribe were estimated at 8,000 or 6,000, as the informant fancied ; how many of these were killed and eaten, or died before the sale, nobody would undertake to say. Mr. Ayliff, the Colonial Treasurer, having " examined every accessible source, public and private," of information upon the matter, could only furnish a gross return of £24,588 realised by sale of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats ; of which he presumed one half might belong to the Putili, the other half to the Amahlubi ; besides £810 for corn and some insignificant items. It was thereupon ordered by Sir Garnet Wolseley that the sum of £12,000 or goods to that value should be forthwith bestowed on the Putili tribe, which had before received £500 by way of immediate relief. The relief, which was not to be named compensation, given to the Amahlubi, somewhat exceeded £2,000. Lord Carnarvon and Sir Garnet Wolseley were anxious to do more for them ; but the colonial funds were nearly exhausted, with a bill of £36,000 for military expenses and for the prosecution and imprisonment of Langelibalele and his sons.

The scandal was completed by a court-martial held upon the behaviour of the Natal and Karkloof Volunteers at Bushman's River Pass, when it was judged, after inspection of the spot and examination

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of witnesses, that these colonial militia showed a want of discipline and steadiness, "retiring in a disorganised and precipitate manner under a panic caused by a shot fired by the natives." Their commander, Major or Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, R. E., was highly praised by General Sir Arthur Cunynghame for his admirable conduct upon that occasion; "though shaken, indeed almost paralysed, by a fall with his horse over a dangerous precipice, he never shrank from his duty ; and though severely wounded in two places, he used his utmost exertions to rally the retiring troops." The force consisted of thirty-four Europeans and twenty armed Basutos actually present. The Zulus numbered about 200, but there was really no fighting.

The remainder of Sir Garnet Wolseley's too short administration was devoted to personally visiting every district and almost every tribe in Natal, and doing as much as time and means allowed towards providing for the public safety, and laying down rules for the beneficial management of the Zulus within the pale. While he was thus usefully employed, the Legislative Council of Natal, a body composed of the colonial officials and certain nominees of the Lieutenant-Governor, continued a series of formal inquiries, *ex parte* reports, declaratory resolutions,

and address to the Crown, to vindicate the government of Sir Benjamin Pine. They lectured her Majesty's Ministers, at least the Earl of Carnarvon, upon his "general misconception of the real facts of the case," his disregard of "the experience and local knowledge of colonists," and his failure of "a sound and accurate judgment." It is singular to find them professing to regard Lord Carnarvon's decision as a "condemnation" not only of the Lieutenant-Governor, but of "the Colony," which does not seem to have been his Lordship's intention. Whether this should mean the colonists in general, or the officials alone, was not clearly explained by the Legislative Council. But the Secretary of State did not think himself obliged to meet their complaint with a laborious reply. He laid their Address and Report before the Queen, and quietly answered that his opinion had been maturely formed after waiting and considering the fullest explanations of Sir B. Pine, and conferring with Mr. Shepstone; finally, said Lord Carnarvon, when he received another address from Mr. MacFarlane's friends in Weenen county, "I do not see any reason to share the views which are adopted by certain persons in Natal." So the vexatious discussion was brought to a close, and the readers of this little history may form an opinion if they please.



With regard to the principles of future legislation and administration for the welfare of the Zulus and the peace of European settlers in Natal, Lord Carnarvon's ideas merit serious attention. He thought the so-called "Native Law," invented or expounded and applied by Mr. Shepstone, was a barbarous system unfit for civilised men to administer, and incompatible with our maxims of justice. The expedient of keeping up the old tribal polity, and relying on the hereditary chiefs to rule their people for us, was fraught with dangers more likely to increase than to diminish. It would preserve the unmitigated social habits, customs and usages of a savage race. The tribes, still living together, armed and drilled and accustomed to act under command of their leading men, would be ready at any moment to take the field. They will ever feel the strongest allegiance to their respective chiefs; and when these become disaffected to the British Government, as in the cases of Matyana in 1858, and Langelibalele in 1873, the tribes will support them with enthusiasm. The Zulu Kaffirs will leave their homes to follow the chief of their tribe, and sacrifice their lives for his safety. Their property being mainly oxen, they have always the means of transporting the wealth of the tribe, and of feeding while on the march. As there is no individual

ownership of the soil, but the whole location belongs to the tribe, local attachments are not formed. By the increasing numbers, riches, and intelligence of the Kaffirs, these perils from their social condition are yearly augmented. Their settlement and civilisation, their instruction in the Christian religion, the introduction of our laws, the amalgamation of native with European population, are made impossible. The time has come for a strenuous effort to modify this system which has prevailed in Natal since 1848 ; to dissolve the tribal organisation, to detach the people from dependence on their hereditary chiefs, and teach them to look to the white magistrates alone for their rights and their protection against wrong. This was the Kaffir policy of Lord Carnarvon ; it is also that of Sir Bartle Frere. If it be now practicable, it is wise and good.

The Aborigines Protection Society, addressing the Secretary of State in May, 1875, expressed full approval of the views above set forth, while adding its recommendation that elementary and industrial schools should be established with part of the revenue, estimated at £25,000 a year, contributed by the Kaffirs to the Natal Government. Sir Garnet Wolseley, while he has never believed it possible for the black and white races to live together on terms of equality,

seems to have entered much into the general ideas of Lord Carnarvon. His measures for the resettlement of the two dispersed tribes were so devised as to lessen the ruling authority of native chiefs; and he expended the compensation money in sheep, implements, blankets and clothing, instead of oxen; because, "owning large flocks of sheep, they cannot go to war with the same ease as when their property consists of cattle." On all points, he had a shrewd insight and an instinct of fairness, with the inestimable habit of deciding for himself affairs committed to his charge. He treated Bishop Colenso with courtesy, but at once stopped his communications with the unsettled remnants of the Amahlubi tribe, and earnestly protested against the return of their banished Chief to Natal. He consulted Mr. Shepstone upon matters of detail, but would not allow that celebrated manager of natives to dictate the whole of his policy, after the recent disastrous events; and every colonist's opinion was taken for what it might seem to be worth.

The Province of Natal underwent a change in the constitution of its government while Sir Garnet Wolseley held the office of Administrator there. It was a change in the opposite direction to that which had been thought practicable and desirable just before

"the Langalibalele scare." A proposal had then found some favour among the Colonists for the introduction of responsible government, to which the official members of the Legislative Council were opposed. That was in 1872, but now in 1875, the Legislative Council was rendered still more amenable to Government influence by the addition of eight nominee members, besides the five Executive officers or Ministers, against fifteen elected representatives of towns and counties. This constitution, which does not look much like political progress, is to remain in force during ten years.

In August, 1875, Sir Garnet was relieved from his temporary charge of Natal by the arrival of the present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer. An act was soon afterwards passed, which emanated from the Colonial Office in London, to improve the system of administration with regard to the native people. European official residents, with proper salaries, were appointed to superintend the allotted locations of the tribes in Natal, and were expected gradually to detach them from their hereditary tribal chiefs, whose jurisdiction was to be superseded by that of the ordinary Criminal Courts, and by a Native High Court, with Mr. John Ayliff for its Judge, to try civil causes above a certain amount, and divorce

cases. This was undoubtedly a better system than the one which had prevailed since 1848, but the state of the laws regarding the Kaffir population is yet far from being worthy of the civilising, not to say Christianising, mission of English Government in Africa. A new code of Native law has been published ; the recognised principles of which include "polygamy on the male side, with its accompanying lines of demarcation according to houses" or families by different wives "in parts of the polygamist's property ;" also, the incapacity of women to own property, and the absolute subjection of the female sex to the male ; but it is enacted that no marriage shall take place without an official witness, who is to see that the woman has publicly stated her consent. The laws, however, now made statutable, continue to regulate the price of wives at so many head of cattle, according to social rank, paid to the girl's father or other guardian ; and it is said that the rearing of daughters for sale, to such an amount as may be yielded by the number of wives their sire can maintain, is a trade rather briskly carried on in this part of the Queen's dominions. The subject is not agreeable to dwell upon here, but Missionary Societies have now and then addressed Her Majesty's Government in a tone of remonstrance about it.

They have shown that the provision of an "official witness" was illusory as a protection for the female objecting to her marriage, the official witness being in all cases a native, whose prejudices and prepossessions would be against the woman so protesting; and that the registration of polygamous marriages to an unlimited number gives legal sanction to the worst of social evils. It is complained that the laws positively discourage, with reference to these native marriage obligations, any of the converts to Christianity who desire to free themselves from tribal entanglements, and to live in the manner of Europeans. There is one particular obligation imposed on widows upon the death of a childless husband, with a view to "the raising up of seed," which is described by the Wesleyan Missionary Society as "submission to a sad and degraded lot;" but on perusing the text of the existing Code of Native Law, it appears that the widow is supposed not to be under compulsion. There seem, however, to be no efficient means generally afforded to native women, or likely to come within their reach, of obtaining the protection of the British authorities in case of their feeling oppressed by the common usages and practices of Kaffirdom. It is to be feared that the British authorities in Natal are conscious of a want of

strength to achieve the work of social reform upon so huge a mass of barbarism as that province now contains. The will to do so has never been wanting either here or there.

Something more than this may truly be said of the present Lieutenant-Governor. A perusal of his official correspondence from 1875 to 1879 leaves a highly satisfactory impression of the good sense, the fairness, the good-will and moderation of Sir Henry Bulwer's conduct. It was not until the 21st of last September, and then for "strong reasons" which were not fully expressed, that the present Secretary of State, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, made an important change in the Lieutenant-Governor's position. Instead of communicating directly with Her Majesty's Government and receiving his instructions from home, as he and all his predecessors had always done, Sir Henry Bulwer was thenceforth ordered to submit his proceedings to Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape Colony, and High Commissioner. A similar arrangement was made for the British Administrator of the Transvaal, under circumstances which are yet to be described.

## CHAPTER XI.

### OUR CORONATION OF KETCHWHYO: "SOMTSEU" THE KINGMAKER.

Panda's pacific reign.—His relations to the Natal Government.—Rivalry of his sons.—Victory of Ketchwhy in 1856.—He is made heir-apparent and regent.—Mr. Shepstone's visit to Panda in 1861.—The Englishman "represents Chaka."—He becomes "father" of Ketchwhy.—Messages of invitation, 1873.—He is sent as Chief Witness.—The ceremonial.—The proclamation of good laws.—Questionable political efficacy of these proceedings.

HIS Zulu Majesty the Root—which is, as I said, the signification of "Mpanda," and which seems, too, a significant name for the person who represented the royal family of that nation—died on the 18th of October, 1872. He had reigned thirty-three years, during twenty-six of which he was next neighbour to the British Government of Natal, and to the Dutch previously. No fault was ever found with the "loyalty and friendliness" of King Panda; this is the testimony of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who was Natal Secretary for Native Affairs nearly all that time. It is, therefore, quite possible for the English colony



to live at peace with the adjacent powerful Zulu Kingdom for at least a quarter of a century. That is as long a period as the civilised monarchies of Europe are wont to pass without making war upon each other. For they too, like these savage African States of black heathendom, each keep up what Sir Bartle Frere calls "a frightfully efficient man-slaying machine," commonly termed an Army. King Panda maintained one of his own, which he never thought of turning against the white men. It stands further written by Sir T. Shepstone, the only witness of official authority, that "practically, the government of Zulu Land had been in the hands of Cetywayo since his victory in 1856." Ketchwhy, as I prefer to spell him, was installed in that kingdom by the writer of the above statement, then Mr. Shepstone, upon the demise of his father Panda; and the peaceful relations continued to 1878. Past experience, therefore, whatever may have been said or done in these latter days, has proved that it is quite possible for Natal to live at peace during twenty-two years with the Zulus, while ruled by Ketchwhy.

If Mr. Shepstone had not thought so in the year 1873, and for a long time before, and notably in 1861, when he became party to the settlement of the Zulu royal succession upon Ketchwhy, the curious

proceedings I am about to describe would never have taken place. But they did take place, with the special sanction of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Benjamin Pine, and to the satisfaction at that time of the official mind in Natal. It has, indeed, always been considered, until a few months ago, that the unique diplomacy of "Somtseu," as the Zulus fondly called him, with his mysterious mastery of the native disposition, had secured a permanent alliance with the natural head of the Zulu race; and thereby an unbounded influence over all the Zulu populations, as well beyond as within the British frontiers. This general belief among the colonists, settlers, missionaries, traders and government officers in Eastern South Africa, kept him and two of his sons in the perpetual enjoyment of very important and responsible posts in the Natal administration, for which they were doubtless singularly qualified. But it has also controlled the exercise of public opinion with regard to colonial affairs. The time seems now come for inquiring whether Sir T. Shepstone's policy, in some respects, may not have been mistaken. His attendance in August and September, 1873, with the expedition sent by the Natal Government to install Ketchwhyho as King of the Zulus, was but a few months before the lamentable affair of poor old

Langalibalele, which I have related. It was the beginning of the end of a very peculiar system of native management.

The internal condition of the Zulu independent monarchy in the latter part of King Panda's long reign has more than a mere historical interest. That native sovereign, as I narrated in preceding chapters, dethroned his brother Dingaan in 1840 by the assistance of the Dutch Boers under Pretorius, then forming a commonwealth of their own in Natal. He led four thousand Zulu warriors to fight their battles against the perfidious and bloodthirsty tyrant. He then accepted from the Dutch commander a public recognition of himself, Panda, as successor to Dingaan; in consideration of which he granted all the territory of Natal to his Dutch friends and allies. But it does not appear to be quite so clear and certain, from all the records and documents ever published of this transaction, that Panda and his peers and councillors, and the Zulu nation, understood him to be accepting the position of a vassal to the Natal Government. A new King, in any part of the world, may be glad to receive from a foreign State with which he is acting in alliance the formal acknowledgment of his title, without thereby doing homage for his crown, or in any degree compromising his future

independent sovereignty. Sir T. Shepstone's lengthy dissertation upon this subject, printed among our parliamentary papers of 1875, fails to prove that King Panda at any time behaved in a manner implying such an admission of dependence upon foreign patronage, and of the paramount supremacy of the Natal Government. He can only affirm that "Panda entertained a feeling of grateful attachment and loyalty" to the Boers ; and how far his domestic government, milder and more merciful than Dingaan's, was affected by the lessons they taught him, "it is not easy to say." I beg the reader to note this sentence, and recall it to mind hereafter in weighing the merits of Sir Bartle Frere's political arguments to justify our present Zulu war. If Panda was a vassal of the Dutch, his son Ketchwhyoy is now a rebellious vassal of the British Government. But I have not been able to find historical evidence in support of that assumption.

The diplomatic talents of Mr. Shepstone, while he was managing affairs for the Natal Government, were steadily applied to foster this view of its relations to Ketchwhyoy, or "Cetywayoy," with whom we are now at war. It is a question most essential to our fair judgment of the recent causes of quarrel. I therefore desire to throw some light upon it by this

chapter on the ceremonial installation of the King in 1873. It must first be observed that Panda had grown fat and lazy as he grew old. He was not like his imperial predecessor Chaka a warlike conqueror, but more like the Roi d'Yvetôt,

" Peu connu dans l'histoire ;  
Se levant tard, se couchant tôt,  
Et dormant fort bien sans gloire."

He could move, it is said, only in a waggon, and needed half a dozen strong men to lift him into it; the harmless pacific monarch! *O si sic omnia!* But he owned a good many wives, and a good many sons. With reference to family matters, there seems to be no doubt that Panda was differently situated from Dingaan and Chaka, the two preceding Zulu Kings. They do not appear at their decease, the one in 1840, the other in 1828, to have left any male children, if any children at all. Upon this topic Mr. Shepstone, whose acquaintance with the Zulu Kingdom began after those dates, mentions a very wonderful report, which he repeats as history. It is that both those infamously cruel despots, each in his own reign, systematically put to death all their children, and all their wives likely to become mothers, in order "to keep down dangerous questions which might arise as to the succession." Now, I confess myself to be

rather sceptical about the probability of such conduct. Dingaan and Chaka were no doubt capable of any amount of cruelty. Despots in Asia and in Europe, professing Moslem or Christians, not to mention ancient Roman Cæsars, have put wives, sons, and brothers to death from jealousy, or for Court and State reasons. But that a man should thus deliberately resolve to exterminate the whole of his own offspring, to cut off his flesh and blood from an hereditary succession, while he permitted his brothers to live until they actually supplanted him, as in the case of both Chaka and Dingaan—this seems contrary to the ordinary selfish motives of human nature. It is far more likely that all Chaka's sons were killed by order of their uncle Dingaan, and that Dingaan's children perished at the hands of some partisans of their uncle Panda; and that this mythical account of their disappearance was afterwards related to Mr. Shepstone.

Among Panda's grown-up sons, however, in the year 1856, as we read in different accounts of the Zulus, there were two, Umbulazi and Ketchwhy, between whom arose the strife of rival princes for an expected inheritance of power. Each of the King's sons was allowed to form a separate establishment, collecting as many followers as he could in military rule subor-

P

dinate to the King ; and the retainers of such princes were said to "live under the tiger's tail," while those in the King's immediate service were "under the tiger's head." Ketchwhy, being fired with martial ambition, rallied around him the ardent youth who longed to revive the glories of Chaka's valiant reign. His younger brother Umbulazi was of gentler temper, and was the favourite of their father Panda. Parties were formed among the Zulu nobility, and civil war broke out. In a great battle fought on the banks of the Tugela, where three thousand of Umbulazi's men were killed, his hopes and his life came to an end. It has been said that two of his children, Usikota and Umkungu, escaped over the river into Natal ; so did more than one of his brothers. It is further stated, but not in Sir T. Shepstone's narrative, that a grand national assembly of the Zulus was held in November, 1857, when the chiefs and Indunas agreed to recognise Ketchwhy as heir apparent. We are told how they ordained that he should, through Masipula the Prime Minister, exercise a Regency until his father's death, and should afterwards be King. This is the statement of the Rev. Lewis Grout, the American missionary, then dwelling with the Zulus ; but Sir T. Shepstone, in his elaborate historical treatise, refrains from mentioning the Zulu national assembly and its enact-

ments of 1857. He asserts, on the contrary, how far correctly I know not, that from 1856 to 1861 the Zulus "shrank from nominating a successor" to Panda, who had been deprived of all real power. He says that there was no legal succession until in 1861 the nomination was made in favour of Ketchwhy, by the efforts of himself, Theophilus Shepstone. He did visit the Zulu Court in that year, as an official envoy from the Natal Government, with one of his sons, two other European companions, and some native followers. He did no doubt advise and persuade the King to make his will, and to proclaim that Ketchwhy should be the heir, and should rule meantime in Panda's name. But if this arrangement had really been determined by the men of power in Zulu Land three or four years previously, of which he says nothing, the political consequences of Mr. Shepstone's part in "the formal act" of 1861 would be of less importance. He was there, he says, as "chief witness" to the act. But would this be regarded as a proof of Ketchwhy's vassalage to the British Government?

Here it is needful to examine the description, first given by Mr. Shepstone in a memorandum of June 11, 1873, of the very extraordinary Zulu titles and tokens of dignity conferred upon him during his visit to Panda's Court at Nodwengu in 1861. He went there



to perform an "extremely difficult and somewhat dangerous task," and he was "fortunate enough to be successful." That is, he then "caused to be nominated" the son of Panda, who had defeated and expelled all his rivals five years before, in 1856, and who already held the Zulu Government "in his hands." The only apprehension of an attack upon Ketchwhy's position, as Regent of Zulu Land, would be from those other sons of Panda who had taken refuge in Natal. Mr. Shepstone's mission from Natal in 1861 must therefore have been very acceptable to Ketchwhy, and to the whole party in power. When he arrived, upon that occasion, within ten miles of Panda's residence, he was requested to halt for the adjustment of a question of etiquette. The Zulus were anxious to greet him with the highest possible mark of deference, "the royal salute," which they never used except to the Sovereign. There was a difficulty about this in the mind of some Garter King-at-Arms or other Master of the Ceremonies; and the King's Guards, drawn up in front of the Royal Palace, were reluctant to do such honour to a stranger. "It was decreed, therefore," says Mr. Shepstone, "that I should be looked upon as Chaka, that is, that I should personate and take that chief's rank." This was an amazing contrivance, whether it be regarded from the Zulu or

the Englishman's point of view. Chaka, the ferocious warrior who had founded the Zulu Empire and had died in 1828, has always been worshipped as a national divinity. I believe they fancy his soul to be now inhabiting the scaly form of a monstrous crocodile, lurking in marshes unknown, and sometimes uttering his oracles to the Royal Inyanga, or to the religious king himself. But it is odd to think of a gentleman from Pietermaritzburg, a churchwarden as well as Government official, being hailed as Chaka and the adoptive great ancestor of the reigning family, hence the "father" of King Ketchwhyto to this day. Mr. Shepstone indeed confesses that he looked upon it, in 1861, as "a mere temporary expedient to show respect, and to conciliate the arrogance, which was then rampant, of the embodied regiments." It was not till after Panda's death, twelve years later, that this apparently "personal and unimportant matter, whose significance passed away with the occasion," grew into the portentous prerogative of Zulu King-maker.

A question may now occur to the ordinary English politician : Was it only Theophilus Shepstone personally that became in this manner, by what he sometimes calls "my own rank in Zulu Land," the reputed living fountain of Zulu Royalty? According to the

two messengers, Sidindi and Komesiwebu, sent in June, 1873, to conduct him from Pietermaritzburg, "by Zulu law, Mr. Shepstone represents Chaka, and is therefore in the place of Cetywayo's father." Be it so considered, if the Zulus please; but when did Her Majesty's Government undertake to personate Chaka? Neither from the Colonial Office at Westminster or the Queen in Council, nor from the High Commissioner of Her Majesty in South Africa, nor even from the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, came there any sign of assuming that paramount Imperial supremacy over the Zulu kingdom, which has but very recently been alleged. There is no proof whatever of its express acknowledgment by Ketchwhy, any more than by Panda. Sir T. Shepstone's theory of an implied acknowledgment must be tested by his own report, and other documents, showing under what circumstances the installation of the new King took place in 1873.

The Zulu princes and chiefs, Ketchwhy and those about him, sent towards the end of February a first message to the Governor of Natal, formally announcing Panda's death, with a present of four oxen, which they called "the King's head." They were in State mourning, and they expected neighbourly condolence. "The nation," said they, "has suddenly found itself

wandering it knows not whither; it wanders, and wanders, and wanders again, for its guide is no more. Although for many years the King was so ill that he could not move about, his spirit was still there, and by his words the nation was guided, and knew what to do; these have ceased, and none but children are left." Beautiful and affecting language, expressive of the filial affection which Panda's sons thought it decent to show, but not to be taken as a confession of political anarchy or incapacity! The Zulu government was still in the firm hands of Ketchwhy, as it had been since 1856. But they asked Mr. Shepstone, as he had been "chief witness" to Panda's will of 1861, and was a sort of appointed "father" or personal guardian of Panda's children, to come and perform the installation ceremony; "for he knows all about it." They desired also to be in closer unity with the Natal Government. In his answer to this message, the Lieutenant-Governor asked further explanations, but said not a word of claiming or consenting to exercise a superior prerogative over the Zulu Kingdom. A second message arrived on May 3rd, by which the Zulus sought to explain away the circumstance of their having also sent an announcement of the late King's death, with a complimentary gift of two oxen, to the President of the Transvaal

Republic. The statement on record as having been "read over" to these messengers, "and confirmed by them," was drawn up by Mr. Shepstone, and is not attested, like the former message, by several other Government officials. It contains the only express declaration of "the united will of the Zulu people," by whatever right these messengers could declare it; being "that their new King shall be the son of the British Government," whatever that might signify. The Lieutenant-Governor's reply, again, was simply that he and his Government had "no desire to interfere with any arrangement the nation may make with regard to the installation of the successor of the deceased King." A month later came the third message from Zulu Land, that of Sidindi and Komesiwebu above mentioned, who were to fetch Mr. Shepstone without delay. No idea was entertained, on either side, that Ketchwhy might come to Natal, as a vassal would come to the residence of his feudal superior, to receive the investiture of his fief. Mr. Shepstone was desirous of being sent with a special embassy to Zulu Land. To procure this appointment, he wrote an argumentative memorandum, informing the Natal Government of the high rank and influence he possessed in the neighbouring kingdom, "without effort or merit on my part;" and urging that it was

a grand opportunity. The Zulu population in general would be impressed with a sense of British authority, and would become more estranged from the rival Dutch Government of the Transvaal. Sir Benjamin Pine was readily induced to listen to Mr. Shepstone's argument just then, because the complaints against Langalibalele's tribe was threatening to give some trouble, and it was thought politic to secure the neutrality of the Zulu King.

The Special Embassy was therefore sent into Zulu Land with a certain degree of pomp. The Natal Secretary for Native Affairs was accompanied by his eldest son, Mr. Henrique Shepstone, acting as his secretary, and by Major Durnford, R.E., Lieutenant Clarke, R.A., and Captain Boyes, of the 75th Regiment, with Mr. Behrens, Manager of the Natal Land Company, Mr. Cato, the Norwegian Consul, Bishop Schreuder, of the Norwegian Missionary Station at Etchowe, and a Hanoverian Superintendent Missionary. He had an escort of more than one hundred Natal Volunteers, including the Durban Artillery with two guns, and three hundred Natives; and he carried a tent and flags and other paraphernalia for the ceremonial of the coronation, with gifts of breech-loading rifles and the articles most likely to please Ketchwhy's taste.

Before crossing the Tugela, Mr. Shepstone sent forward a message saying that he came "at the request of the Zulu nation, to carry out what the Government I represent looks upon as the will of the Zulus. If I learn," he added, "that this has been changed, my presence as Chief Witness will no longer be required, and I shall turn back." He also made a preliminary stipulation, that there should be no blood shed upon this occasion. This was because it had been customary, at the beginning of a new reign, to put to death numbers of persons denounced or suspected as unfriendly to the King who was to be proclaimed, after a public assembly called the Ukubuzana or grand questioning, where mutual accusations were freely interchanged. The acceptance of Mr. Shepstone's conditions was intimated to him by the return of his messengers on the road; and he was also informed that Ketchwhyó had already met the late king's Prime Minister, Masipula, with the head men of the kingdom, who had given him the royal salute. This appeared to Mr. Shepstone an unwarrantable encroachment upon his own privileged office as King-maker of the Zulu nation. He had now reason to suspect that Masipula, who was a Conservative Zulu statesman, averse to calling in the assistance of foreigners to instal a Zulu King, had perpetrated a

bold stroke of policy, intending to get "the services of the Natal Government declined, unless it consented to render them as avowedly secondary and non-essential."

It seems probable enough that this was the intention of Masipula ; and that Ketchwhyho himself would just as soon, but for the exigencies of his immediate situation, have got rid of the ostentatious British patronage he had borrowed to gild his royal title, having already the full reality of power. But Masipula died very suddenly within two days, upon which polite and courteous messages were exchanged ; Mr. Shepstone exacted and received an apology for the Zulus not having waited till his arrival to give the royal salute to their chosen king. He passed on into the valley of the White Umvolosi, the heart of the country, where he saw the historic sites of Umgungundlovu, the residence of Dingaan ; and Isirebe, founded by old Senzangacona, the sire of Chaka, whose last surviving widow, extremely aged, was still living there. Ketchwhyho did not come to Isirebe, as he had agreed, to meet the British envoy, but was at his military kraal of Umlambongwenya, near which the interview soon took place. "He is," according to Sir T. Shepstone, "a man of considerable ability, much force of character, and has a dignified manner ; in all my conver-



sations with him he was remarkably frank and straightforward, and he ranks in every respect far above any Native Chief I have ever had to do with." The whole afternoon was spent in earnest conversation between the two, especially upon the encroachments of the Transvaal Boers on Zulu territory, Ketchwhyu urging the Natal Government to take up his cause. Next day, Mr. Shepstone returned the King's visit, accompanied by Colonel Durnford and Mr. Henrique Shepstone, with the Native Indunas of Natal. The King and the Councillors of the Zulu nation, during five hours, conferred upon the future maintenance of a cordial and intimate friendship between their State and Natal; secondly, the enactment of new laws, to be proclaimed at this Coronation, for the security of every Zulu subject's life except those condemned by open trial for capital crimes, with appeal to the King; thirdly, the continued toleration of the missionaries in Zulu Land; and lastly, some accommodation for labourers of the Amatonga nation travelling through Zulu Land, on their way to employment in Natal. The great public assembly was held on the following day, and many thousands of people were congregated there, but it passed off without loss of life.

The installation or coronation of the new King was performed on Monday, the 1st of September, with as

much artificial solemnity and decorative splendour as Mr. Shepstone's party could furnish out of their portable stores, aided by Mr. John Dunn, a well-known English or Scotch resident among the Zulus, who is almost one of themselves. The tent was pitched in the centre of the Royal Military Kraal, and was decorated with flags, shawls and coloured blankets; on a table there stood a looking-glass, with the fancy head-dress designed for a royal crown after the Zulu fashion. A chair of state was placed for his Majesty; on this lay a scarlet and gold mantle with which he was to be invested, and with the crown or cap, by Mr. Shepstone's hands. All which, says that gentleman, "presented a very tasteful appearance." To the right hand were arrayed the Artillery, Mounted Volunteers, and band of the Maritzburg Rifles; to the left, Mr. Shepstone's native followers. The Zulu Prince, whom he was going to make a King, stood with the Zulu nobles and councillors of state in front of the marquee. A martial host of eight or ten thousand Zulu warriors, mostly young men, kept in strict order by their officers continually beating them with sticks, formed three-fourths of a circle at fifty yards distance.

When Ketchwhyó had received the English gifts, and had examined the breechloaders with due gratifi-

cation, Mr. Shepstone, or "Somtseu," as the Zulus call him, if we should not rather here call him "Chaka," solemnly read a paper of nine questions; to each of which the assembly responded with "audible and hearty assent."

They were as follows:—

"Have not I entered Zulu Land at the request of the Zulu nation, to instal their new King?" (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

"Have not I been requested to come because I was the chief witness to his nomination by his father at Nodwengu?"

"Is not Cetywayo the son that was then nominated, and is it not he whom the Zulus now wish me to instal?"

"Have not you requested me to proclaim new laws, to be administered under the new King, by means of which you hope that the new King will reign peaceably over a contented people and a prosperous country?" (Cheers.) "So say you all?" (Renewed cheering.)

"Have not we agreed, that the life of a man or woman, high or low, is the property of the Country, and that the King has vested in him that property on behalf of the Country?"

"Have not we agreed, that for any man to take life, without the previous knowledge and consent of

the King, is to take that which belongs to the Country, without the Country's consent?"

"Have not we agreed, that every man ought to be allowed to answer for himself before his immediate Head, and if he wishes before the King, any charges brought against him; and that he ought not to be condemned finally before he has had an opportunity of so doing?"

"Have not we agreed, that the punishment of death for every crime destroys a people?"

"Do not I stand here in the place of Cetywayo's father, and so representing the Nation?"

To all these questions, there was a general vehement assent. The doctrine set forth or implied by them, as it appears to me, did not go far to lessen the King's despotic power over the lives of all his subjects. It only forbade the subordinate chiefs to exercise such power, and it was doubtless entirely in accordance with the mind of his Zulu Majesty. But the Magna Charta of that barbarous nation was now to be proclaimed. Sir T. Shepstone remarks, aside, that he had only expected to have to deliver "something in the nature of an ordination sermon, or Bishop's charge to candidates for confirmation;" merely an impressive lesson to influence the conscience of his royal *protégé*, it was hoped, during his future life and reign. But

he now found himself, or imagined himself, invested with the power of fundamental legislation; so he went on to say,

“I proclaim therefore,

“1st. That the indiscriminate shedding of blood shall cease in the land.

“2nd. That no Zulu shall be condemned without open trial, and the public examination of witnesses for and against, and that he shall have a right to appeal to the King.

“3rd. That no Zulu's life shall be taken without the previous knowledge and consent of the King, after such trial has taken place, and the right of appeal has been allowed to be exercised.

“4th. That for minor crimes, the loss of property, all or a portion, shall be substituted for the punishment of death.”

Now, it will probably occur to my readers that, however just and humane is the obvious intention of these rules, they would still leave to an absolute monarch the sole disposal, as trustee “on behalf of the Country,” of the lives of the people. The only comment which Ketchwhy's Councillors of State thought it needful to make was, that many persons were put to death in Zulu Land for witchcraft, and their accusers were sometimes witch-doctors who

came from Natal. Mr. Shepstone in reply assured them that in Natal those mischievous impostors were punished by the English Government, which did not believe in witchcraft. But so long as the Zulus do believe in it, they persist in listening to the witch-doctors, and it seems to them, no doubt, as to our ancestors in merry England of the olden time, a pious and charitable custom to hunt up suspected wizards and put them to death. No conclusive result was attained or even approached upon this important question of Zulu criminal law.

The ceremonial was then performed, Mr. Shepstone first leading Ketchwhyó into the tent, where he was secluded from public view. The chair or throne was set upon a carpet outside. The King-maker privately dressed up the King in his scarlet mantle and splendid head-gear, then led him forth amidst popular acclamations, and seated him upon the chair. A salute was fired by the guns from Durban ; the band struck up, and the Zulu soldiery rattled their knobkerries on their shields, rather frightening the horses of the dismounted Natal Volunteers. Heralds went round shouting a proclamation for all the vast multitude to hear, while "Somtseu" made a brief concluding speech to the King, his brothers, and his councillors, and to the other peers of the realm. He afterwards paid

a complimentary visit to the King's sisters, but we are not told anything about those high-born ladies. Ketchwhyó was on very good terms with his brother Uhamu, and there is ground for believing that fratricide has in these days ceased to be an established custom of the Zulu royal family. The farewell visit of Mr. Shepstone to his Majesty next day was equally satisfactory; tusks of ivory and some oxen were given, with Ketchwhyó's best thanks for the service rendered him upon this signal occasion. The expedition speedily and safely returned to Natal.

Its political results on the whole do not appear so very important as the Natal Government of that date imagined. The Secretary for Native Affairs left Ketchwhyó with the understanding simply that "the relations which had subsisted in Panda's time between Natal and the Zulus should continue," but that they would be "more intimate and cordial." There was never any formal or written treaty between them; Mr. Shepstone and Sir Benjamin Pine thought it inexpedient to make one. Ketchwhyó wanted an offensive and defensive alliance, and offered them the services of his army. They told him that, when they wanted it, they would send for it, but they must form their own judgment as to his quarrels. He regretted that Christian missionaries had been allowed by his

father to settle in the country. They were good men, he said, and their doctrine might be good for white people, but not for Zulus. He thought a Zulu converted was a Zulu spoiled, and he wished the Christian teachers would depart in peace. As for the passage of foreign labourers through his country on the road to Natal, he consented to allow it, under the care of Mr. John Dunn, who has since been paid £300 a year for this service by the Natal Government. It is, however, alleged that the importation of fire-arms into Zulu Land from Delagoa Bay has derived great facilities from the system of industrial immigration along the coast route. So there was not much substantial advantage got after all by the Special Embassy of 1873. Lord Carnarvon refrained at the time from expressing any decided opinion as to its policy. We shall see what it seemed to be worth the other day in the eyes of Sir Bartle Frere. The singular career of Sir Theophilus Shepstone had yet another phase of surprising action, to be related in my next chapter. He was reputed to have made a King—who has become our most formidable enemy. He next unmade a Republic—whose aggrieved citizens refuse to be our friends.



## CHAPTER XII.

### OUR ANNEXATION OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Queen Victoria recognised the independence of the Republic in 1852.—

Different character of the Lydenberg district.—English at the Gold-fields.—The frontier.—Our Foreign Office and our Colonial Office.—The South African Confederation scheme.—Official prejudice and fault-finding.—Secocooni.—President Burgers.—Mismanagement of the war.—Outcry against the Republic.—Lord Carnarvon decrees its downfall.—The Republic finishes its war.—Libels against its foreign soldiers.—Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexes the Transvaal.

FAR away there behind the mountain ranges, to the north-west of Natal and Zulu Land, extends the vast upland plain of the Transvaal, a country measuring about 400 miles each way, adjoining the Orange River Free State, and resembling this in the character and history of its Dutch population. They were sister Republics, which had been formed, the one in 1852, the other in 1854, by express conventions made on the part of the British Government with "the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River," in the former case, and "the inhabitants of the Orange River territory," in the latter. Her Majesty the Queen thereby solemnly promised "in the fullest manner to gua-

rantee their future independence, and the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves by their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government." Her Majesty also disclaimed thenceforth "all alliances whatever, and with whomsoever, of the coloured nations to the north of the Vaal River;" and she pledged her word "that no encroachment shall be made by her Government on the territory beyond." The delegates of the Transvaal Boers, on their part, undertook that no slavery should be permitted or practised in their country. All the other articles of the convention were merely the ordinary rules of mutual civility and administrative convenience between neighbouring independent nations; as with reference to liberty for traders and other travellers passing to and fro, the extradition of fugitive criminals, the validity of marriage certificates, and the right of any citizens of the one State to sue for justice in law-courts of the other.

It is impossible for any state to possess a more complete and definitive formal recognition of its political independence, than that which was voluntarily and unconditionally bestowed on the Transvaal Republic in 1852, by Queen Victoria; her Minister of State for the Colonies, now Lord Hampton, having sanctioned the act performed by Sir George Cathcart, as High

Commissioner in South Africa, in ratifying this convention, which had been drawn up at a meeting of the Assistant Commissioners with Andries Pretorius and other Dutchmen on the 17th of January in that year. A similar course was adopted two years afterwards by the abandonment and renunciation of British dominion over the territory situated between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. I happened to be present, as was related in my volume of "Camp Life and Sport in South Africa," with the military escort that accompanied Sir George Clerk, the Special Commissioner of her Majesty's Government, in April, 1854, when he was at Bloemfontein to arrange the business of that cession. The Orange River Free State, which I thus saw ushered into the world, is living and reported to be thriving pretty fairly after a quarter of a century from its birth. The Transvaal Republic, which some time afterwards assumed the name of "The South African Republic," has not been so fortunate; but its constitution was fully as legitimate, if there be any international law out of Europe, and was equally countenanced by the absolute assurances of our own Government.

The Transvaal Dutch Commonwealth, till about two years ago, had a government of its own, in form very like that of the Orange River Free State; with a State

President, elected for a term of five years; an Executive Council, which consisted of the State Secretary and three other councillors; and a Volksraad, or Legislative Council, to which forty-two members were returned by thirteen electoral districts. It had a State revenue of £72,000, sufficing for its ordinary expenditure, but its finances had been thrown into confusion by the events which are here to be related. The European population was scanty for so large a territory; but it was almost twice the number of Europeans that there are in Natal. The Kaffir population was chiefly to be found in those northern and eastern parts of the country, where the Oliphant and other rivers flow to join the Limpopo, which have proved unhealthy for European residents. Some of those districts, being comparatively well watered, well wooded, and well grassed, were occupied by the Boers for a time as agricultural settlements, but were abandoned because of the climate, which is bad for horses as well as for white men. They were also found too distant from roads and markets. The more elevated and level tract of country, almost bare of trees, and having a deficient supply of water, though with a pretty good soil, which lies south of the 25th parallel of latitude, is called the Hooge Veldt, or High Field. It is here that the Boers have their large grazing

farms, seldom less than 6,000 acres for each, on which they rear big herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, with horses, goats, and swine, but grow no crops for sale. The towns of Pretoria, Potchefstrom, Klerksdorp, and Rustenburg are situated in this more salubrious and accessible zone of territory between the Vaal and the Magaliesberg, or upon the slopes of that central range, which divides the streams flowing into the Vaal and Orange from those descending northward to the Limpopo. The lower region of deep valleys, ravines, and forests, called the Bush Veldt, is partly used by the Boers for winter pasturage, driving their cattle thither to graze during four months only of the year. But this region is much overrun or inhabited by several Kaffir tribes, who do not usually make their appearance in the great open plains of the Hooge Veldt.

It is needful to observe such natural differences, as I remarked in my first chapter, because they account for much of the social condition and history of colonial territories. In general, therefore, the Dutch people of the Transvaal dwell, as they do now, in the central and western districts, leaving the parts about Lydenberg comparatively deserted, till the gold-fields of Pilgrim's Rest and Macmac, some forty miles beyond Lydenberg town, attracted a few hundred English and Scotch diggers. Lydenberg, however, was an

integral portion of the Republican territory, having been peacefully occupied by the Boers in 1854, and formally incorporated with the Transvaal State in 1859 ; but they had retired from the farms and villages, such as Origstadt, which were found unsuitable for their residence.

All that territory of Lydenberg, the north-east quarter of the Transvaal, was held by its Government in virtue of treaties which the Dutch Boers had concluded in 1846 with the King of the Swazies or Amaswazi, and in 1857 with Sequati, the Chief of a Basuto tribe, here called the "Bapedi," which has settled in the Zulu mountain country between the Steelpoort and the Oliphant rivers. These two Kaffir nations, the Swazies to the east along the Drakensberg and continuing northward ranges, and the Bapedi to the north-west in the rugged highlands overlooking the Steelpoort, were those with whom the Dutchmen had to deal. They bought a title to the Lydenberg territory from its native claimants on both sides, for which they paid only a hundred oxen or some such nominal price, as the land was not actually occupied by the natives.

The convention of 1852, by which the political independence of the Transvaal was recognised, had not said a word about restricting this Free State from

## 2.4 THE ZULUS AND THE BRITISH FRONTIERS.

any further extension of its territory, northwest or northeast, which its own Legislature might think desirable. It had only bound our own Government to make no encroachment on the vast outer spaces beyond the Transvaal dominion, and to contract no alliance with the native tribes which the Transvaal Republic might have to encounter there. Hence there was no objection raised on our part, twenty years ago, to the peaceable Dutch acquisition of this country which they have named Lydenberg. Its eastern limit touched that of the Portuguese territory attached to Delagoa Bay, and was the subject of a treaty with Portugal which was published in 1871, and of which our Foreign Office might have known. But if indeed we had treated the independent South African Republic, from 1852 to 1877, as our Foreign Office is wont to behave towards similar independent States, the Transvaal would be as free as Switzerland or Holland to the present day. We know quite well how careful is a Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whether it be Lord Granville, or Lord Derby, or Lord Salisbury, if he has occasion for remonstrance with the smallest Mohammedan potentate in Asia, or the pettiest Spanish American Republic; he respects the unquestionable right of self-government. It is well that the wholesome influence of Great Britain should be exerted

with downright frankness and plainness of speech, in rebuking or warning the less enlightened foreign communities ; but " the comity of nations " is the best security for peace, next to strict equity in all international affairs ; and this seems to enjoin that we should allow our neighbour to be master of his own household. The British Foreign Office usually proceeds upon that fair assumption, and it sends to the abode of every foreign nation a diplomatic or consular representative, an English gentleman of high character, who can be trusted to give truthful reports of passing events. There is no class of public servants who can do, in a quiet unobtrusive way, so much real good to mankind as the British Consuls residing in out-of-the-way countries, in corrupt despotic States, or among semi-barbarous populations ; witness such admirable examples as the late Mr. James Finn of Jerusalem, the late Consul Barker at Aleppo, and several others who could be named. And why not have sent a Consul to King Ketchwhy ? I may be permitted to add that retired military men are often well qualified for posts in the Consular service, but that there ought to be a more liberal scale of pecuniary allowances and salaries for living in a sort of exile, and sometimes in a bad climate, with so much anxious and harassing work to do.



Returning from this consular digression, let me remark that the Colonial Office does not and cannot behave so fairly towards independent States, whether inhabited by people of European race or by native Africans or Asiatics, as the Foreign Office does. The Colonial Office has no traditional principles of equity and courtesy and "the comity of nations." It has no idea of dealing with other Powers as its equals in rank. It is often seduced from rectitude by schemes of rounding off and consolidating its troublesome provincial dominions, and so rendering their administration, especially for military defences, more compact and easy. It has no diplomatic or consular agents residing among the nations that dwell nearest to our colonies; it has no trustworthy eyes and ears sent abroad to learn what is going on, and so it becomes the dupe of every gossiping or mendacious traveller, every rejected missionary, every disappointed trader, who has an idle tale to tell when he crosses the Border. That is the way in which the British public is so frequently drawn into costly, inglorious, unprofitable wars all round the great Continents where our busy countrymen have settled for commercial or agricultural industry. See how the Ashantee war, for instance, was engendered from a Colonial mess on the Gold Coast; and reflect upon the necessary

inconveniences of this anomalous system ! Its effects seem not less deplorable in those cases where, under the shelter of contiguous provincial administrations having little common understanding or sympathy, intriguers and plotters for their own self-interested objects may successfully conspire to undermine a neighbouring foreign State, practising on English credulity with mischievous fictions, by which even the Colonial Office and its Governors or High Commissioners are sometimes deceived. The Foreign Office, let me once more say, could not be so readily abused.

Four or five years ago, the Earl of Carnarvon having succeeded Lord Kimberley as Secretary of State, the scheme of a South African Confederation, to embrace all the different British Colonies and provinces, the two Dutch Republics, and the Kaffir Protectorates, found much favour in the official mind. It was an attempt to imitate the newly-created Dominion of Canada, which is supposed to have bound together all the widely distant provinces of British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore. There was to be a similar political union of all that lay between Table Bay and Port Natal and so much of the interior as could be swallowed by the imaginative appetite of territorial aggrandise-

ment in the name of advancing civilisation. But the Colonial Office, and the "Royal Colonial Institute," a society of amateur politicians and statisticians which debates these big questions after dinner at a restaurant in Regent Street, had reckoned without their host. Lord Carnarvon, through Governor Sir Henry Barkly, in May, 1875, somewhat pedantically requested the Cape colonists to arrange for the establishment of the South African Confederation. His Lordship appointed a representative Conference from the several provinces in order to frame its Constitution, and he was so kind as even to nominate or recommend the persons who should represent the Cape Colony. Now, the Capetown Legislature, which deems its parliamentary authority as valid and substantial, within due limits, as that of our House of Commons, did not like this kind of dictation from Downing Street. The old Cape colonists, moreover, especially in the Western provinces, did not think it expedient for their country, which has no trouble with Kaffirs or danger of any, to take upon itself the joint risk, cost, and responsibility of guarding a thousand miles of remote frontiers, as far as the Tugela and the Pongolo, and half-way to the Equator in the unsettled interior region. So they rejected Lord Carnarvon's proposal; and so did both the

Dutch independent States, which would have doubtless been glad of a Customs' Union or Commercial Treaty on fair terms, but were not at all inclined to come again under British rule. Lord Carnarvon, with more zeal than discretion, persisting in his unacceptable project, sent Mr. J. A. Froude, the popular historian, to make speeches in every town of the Colony, advocating the Confederation scheme, in opposition to the decision of its Legislature. The Colonists, again, disliked this pretension of British statesmanship to teach them what was good for them ; a second invitation to a Conference, in 1876, was not less abortive ; only Natal, as might have been expected, would hear of casting in part and lot with all the other provinces. The Transvaal Free State, which in those days, unhappily for its own welfare and safety, was animated by a vain-glorious spirit, hoisting its flag, coining its small sum of gold, and styling itself "South African Republic," would least of all consent to merge its political existence in the projected imperial system. Nor indeed was its sister Dutch commonwealth, the Orange River Free State, then or since then disposed to commit such an act of "happy despatch" upon its own corporation ; but in this case another element of local interest has demanded and obtained satisfaction, in the price

which England had to pay for the arbitrary annexation of the Diamond Fields, now called West Griqua Land. The Transvaal Republic, however, thus came into bad odour among British official persons connected with "the Cape," and an influential part of the English colonial newspaper press. It was stopping the chariot of Empire on the high-road of a South African Dominion.

The correspondence of Sir Henry Barkly with his Secretary of State in London, on the one hand, and with the Administrator, Mr. R. Southey, of West Griqua Land, on the other, in 1875 and 1876, betrays a vehement prejudice, a restless fault-finding and tale-bearing spirit, against the Boers' Government of the Transvaal. Everything they do, and some things which they never did, are made grounds of censorious animadversion, and construed in the worst possible light. Their president, Mr. Thomas Francis Burgers, was certainly then doing many foolish acts, wasting the very limited financial resources of his country, and pawning its credit in Europe for loans upon extravagant terms, and for railway contracts which are not likely to be carried out. But the topics of our High Commissioner's incessant commentary were, of course, such as might be supposed to have some contingent bearing on the interests of our Colonial

Dominion, or upon the condition and treatment of the Kaffir race. He took notice, for example, of the laws in the Transvaal concerning the host of native labourers from the north-east, Swazies, Tongas, Zulus, and Bapedi, who were passing down through that country, since 1873, to work at the Diamond Fields—and to buy guns at Kimberley with the wages that white men paid them. The Dutch Government had taken alarm betimes at this perilous incursion of savage men traversing four or five hundred miles across the length and breadth of its territory. A passport was exacted, with a fee of £1, from each Kaffir tramp entering the country; and what was more, compulsory service for three months within the Transvaal State. This last mentioned imposition may seem to be a harsh one: but it was really intended as a check upon the most dangerous kind of vagabondism in a thinly peopled country, where the farmhouses stand often six or eight miles apart. Now, Sir Henry Barkly took some pains to convince our Government that this amounted to “a system of *quasi* slavery, and in direct conflict with the Convention of 1852;” from which it would follow that the Transvaal Republic had forfeited its right to political existence. The law above described had been in force nearly two years past; but it was proposed in the Volksraad, in

November, 1874, to augment the passport tax, and this debate, though at the President's earnest desire the Volksraad took a more lenient and liberal course, gave occasion to our Governor's officious complaint. There were some complaints less inopportune, but not such as to justify a hostile attitude towards the Republic. A party of French Protestant missionaries, with their native converts from Basuto Land, which is a British protectorate, had in going through the Transvaal been stopped because they had not the required passes and the licences for their guns. The Boers had committed trespasses on the lands of some of the western chiefs, Lopengula, King of the Matabele, or Montsioa of the Barolongs, or Gassibone Botlasitse of the Batlapins, and had transgressed the award made by the late Mr. Keate which defined their southern boundary. Or a Mr. Hampden Smithers, dwelling some years past among the Dutchmen, was aggrieved by the seizure of a yoke of oxen, in compliance with the law, for the public military service. These grave charges were already rife at Cape Town, where Her Majesty's representative, fifteen hundred miles distant, condemned the foreign State which he never saw; but a different cause of anxiety concerning the Transvaal Government arose from its dispute with Ketchwhy and the Zulu Kingdom.

On this side of South Africa, however, the conduct of our affairs was in the hands of Sir Henry Bulwer, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, whose official correspondence is more agreeable to read than that of Sir Henry Barkly at the Cape. The year 1876 began with symptoms of growing hostility between the Zulus and the Boers, which had probably been kept at rest so long as the Boers hoped to patronise King Ketch-whyho like his father Panda. There was a standing rivalry, as Sir Theophilus Shepstone knew, between the English and the Dutch Governments, regarding the opportunities of exerting political influence over the formidable Zulu Kingdom. Sir Theophilus had won the game, as it then appeared, by his ostentatious performance of the coronation ceremony. The Dutchmen at Pretoria thereupon resumed, not very wisely or seasonably, but in a resentful temper, their controversy with the Zulus upon two old subjects of dispute. These were, in the first place, the alleged claim of the Zulu Kingdom to an imperial supremacy over the Swazies, whom the Transvaal Republic had taken under its protection; and secondly, the Zulu boundary as affected by a former cession of territory, in Panda's reign, on the borders of the Utrecht district, which is nearest to our province of Natal. The latter question has been of greater importance at



the present crisis, as it has led to our war with Ketchwhyho in these days. But it was the former, the disputed supremacy over the Swazies, that two years ago threatened to disturb peaceful relations between Zulu Land and the Transvaal.

This affair had long been studied by the Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal. He had, in April, 1874, assisted Sir Benjamin Pine to lay before Her Majesty's Government the state of affairs on the Transvaal border. In 1876, he was in England, conferring much with Lord Carnarvon; while President Burgers, having returned from his visit of Europe, was getting the Republic into new difficulties upon the other side, that of the Bapedi, whose chief was the redoubtable Secocooni, the son of Sequati, occupying an impregnable mountain fastness to the north-west of Lydenberg. Sir Henry Bulwer, in the meantime, had done his best to preserve tranquillity in Zulu Land, and to dissuade the Boers from provoking hostilities with Ketchwhyho, which Sir T. Shepstone thought they did not seriously mean to do.

What they really did, in June of that year, under the direction of Mr. Burgers, was to engage in a most arduous war against Secocooni, to punish him for cattle raids of the Bapedi in the Lydenberg district. It was Mr. Shepstone's opinion that Secocooni was set

on by Ketchwhygo to harass the Boers, on account of their dispute with the Zulu kingdom. The Boers relied upon the active help of the Swazies, a fierce and warlike race, who were to do the worst of the fighting for them. It was mountain warfare, scrambling up rocky heights and storming the native strongholds, which never suited the Dutchmen ; they prefer keeping with their horses and waggons on the open plain. They were not at all ashamed to look on, and let the Swazies alone make the attack. Before the arrival, indeed, of those savage allies, the burgher troops had stormed two or three fortified kraals of the chiefs in alliance with Secocooni. The Swazies came in July, to the number of 2,400, joining a small Dutch force under Commandant Coetze, and on the 14th attacked a strong place on the Speckboom, which Johannes, the brother of Secocooni, held with some 200 men. While the Dutch commander waited below, the savage allies rushed up, fought their way in, and then behaved like savages, killing not only men, but the wives and children of Johannes. That chief, who had been half converted to Christianity, died of his wounds a few days afterwards ; the place had not been thoroughly captured, as the Swazies withdrew very soon when they saw the Dutchmen were not coming up. This was the way in which the war continued to go on ;

the Swazies committed atrocities, while they performed active services; the Boer commanders in general did nothing, good or bad. In fact, the farmers generally disliked the campaign, and wanted to go home to attend to their private affairs; their oxen and horses, which they had been obliged to bring out, were dying fast of the diseases peculiar to that district in the season. They did not care much about conquering Secocooni if they could; and they perceived that the eloquent Mr. Burgers, who had been bred a clergyman, was no fit leader of such an expedition. The President's self-conceit was equal to any rash enterprise; on the 2nd of August, he attempted with 1,400 men to take by assault the tremendous natural fortress of Secocooni. It is described as a triangular enclosure of camel-thorn hedges backed with thick stone walls, occupying a sort of platform at the head of a ravine between precipitous cliffs; and the two paths or lanes of approach were barricaded with stone, and commanded on each side by a series of walled passages, with many compartments resembling pews along the aisles of a church. The Dutchmen, except a very few, refused to attempt the assault when they got near enough to see what sort of a job it was. Her Majesty's 13th Regiment, aided by 300 of the Frontier Light Horse, under the command of Colonel Rowlands,

have since failed to capture this identical Kaffir stronghold, and had to retire after vainly beleaguering it for many weeks. This may be some excuse for the Boers, who were so disgusted with the folly of their President that they at once broke up the army, took their waggons and cattle, and drove home. Mr. Burgers was frantic with shame and grief, begging everybody to kill him on the spot ; then halting at the Steelpoort, in his retreat, to construct a new fort called by his name, he sent a hurried despatch to the Landrost of Lydenberg, asking supplies and reinforcements, but in such incoherent terms as to alarm the people of that town. The enemy had not made the slightest attempt to pursue the retiring army, nor was the country really in much danger of being overrun by the Kaffirs then, or at any time ; the Boers could and would have encountered them with success in the open field, though unable to capture their fortified mountain positions. Fort Burgers, on the Steelpoort, was afterwards garrisoned by the Lydenberg Volunteer Corps, who held it five months, effectually shutting up the enemy's outlet from the highlands, and protecting Lydenberg on the west side.

But the temporary confusion of councils in the Transvaal Government, when the President lost his head, not by decapitation, but through distraction and

dismay, was an opportunity not to be neglected by its political ill-wishers. The cry of public ruin and impending destruction only to be averted by a revolution was instantly raised, but not by Dutch voices ; it was heard in the English language alone. It came from the little coterie of the gold-fields adventurers and of Lydenberg, not above 500 souls in all, who had a newspaper published among them, and correspondence with other colonial papers, as at Kimberley in the diamond fields, and thereby with Capetown journals. The reports were unauthenticated, fragmentary, and desultory ; they grossly distorted the facts which had occurred, and they narrated, as given by some anonymous informants, many things of which no evidence was ever produced. Such anecdotes were collected with eagerness at Capetown, 1,500 miles away, to feed the policy of supplanting the Transvaal Government. It might have been well for the Governor of our Cape Colony to have ordered a personal inquiry, sending a competent man to Pretoria and Lydenberg for the purpose of ascertaining the truth. It was hardly so well to communicate every item of that mischievous back-country newspaper gossip to Her Majesty's Secretary of State in London. If the other Secretary of State, at the Foreign Office, had possessed the advantage of a consular representative in the Transvaal,

no great harm would have been done. But the Colonial Office, as I remarked, is too often thus misled by the want of accurate information beyond colonial frontiers.

The effect upon this occasion was marked by Lord Carnarvon's despatch of September 22nd to Sir Henry Barkly, setting forth his opinion that the Transvaal Republic should be "united with the British Colonies;" that it would no longer be expedient to co-operate with that Government "as a separate State," and that if the Transvaal people would like to be taken under Her Majesty's Government, it was a thing to be done. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was on that same day appointed Special Commissioner to the Transvaal, and was ordered to return to Africa "with large discretionary powers to act in such manner as he may deem in accordance with British interests, and with the general policy of Her Majesty's Government." A writ of annexation, to be served by him on an independent Free State about six months later, was that day put into his pocket in Downing Street!

Meantime, how did it fare in Africa with the people of the Transvaal? The war came to a pause after the defeat of their attack on Secocooni's stronghold on the 2nd of August. Active operations were renewed in the middle of November by the newly created

Lydenberg Volunteer Corps, which was raised among the foreigners at the Gold Fields and Diamond Fields, under the command of Captain von Schlickmann. During these three or four months, while Lord Carnarvon was induced to resolve on eventual annexation, there was no symptom of any danger that the Transvaal would be over-run either by Zulus or Bapedi. The latter made an attack upon Fort Burgers on the 29th of September, and were repulsed, but some cattle of the garrison were taken. Some excitement prevailed in the town of Lydenberg, on account of the proposed new war-tax ; the goldfields had utterly failed, and the English speculative adventurers there denounced the Transvaal Republic as the cause of their disappointment. The Dutch inhabitants of that district, which had its own local interests and pretensions, were also discontented with the government at Pretoria. It was earnestly desired that the Republic should invite or allow the British Government, through Sir Henry Bulwer, to mediate on its behalf, and to settle all the disputes with Secocoeni and Ketchwhy. This was the prudent course recommended by an influential meeting of the Dutch citizens at Lydenberg on the 2nd of October. A petition to the same effect, addressed to the President and Executive Council of the Republic, was extensively

signed throughout the districts exposed in any way to suffer losses by the war. Nothing could be farther, it is evident, from their intentions or expectations, than that the Republic should be suppressed and that they should be made British subjects. The four hundred English, including the Irish newspaper editor, Mr. Phelan, may have looked to such a consummation; and some of them, as men of varied colonial experiences, probably calculated on the large expenditure of British public money. But the forty thousand Dutch farmers all over the country remained in perfect innocence and ignorance of the Downing Street decree with which Sir T. Shepstone was on his way back from England to do what he thought proper with the Transvaal. President Burgers, on the 4th of September, had opened the Session of the Legislative Assembly at Pretoria with a calmly business-like speech; for he was there quite at home, not flurried as in the late campaign. He proposed certain needful measures, a more efficient organization and discipline of the Burgher force, and the establishment of a Border Police, as well as the enlistment of Captain Schlickmann's foreign volunteer legion. Financial and other administrative business was also dealt with in that Session of the Volksraad. A report of its proceedings reached Lord Carnarvon on the 21st of October, and was simply



acknowledged ; this was a month after his despatch to Sir Henry Barkly undertaking to annex the Transvaal (of course by consent of inhabitants) to the British Empire.

No offer of British mediation or amicable intervention between the Republic and the Kaffir Chiefs was made by Her Majesty's Government. On the 12th of July, having been apprised that the Republic was going to begin the conflict with Secocooni, Lord Carnarvon had written a strong letter of remonstrance against "an aggressive policy." He had distinctly warned President Burgers that England would prohibit "any alteration or extension of the recognised frontiers" of the South African Republic which might affect the situation of the native tribes bordering on Natal or other British Colonies. Her Majesty's Government would object to "any proceedings or policy interfering with territory or tribes not heretofore under the government" of the Transvaal State. This admonition was rightly addressed to the President ; and it would perhaps have justified a forcible British intervention if the ultimate result of the Secocooni war had been a fresh territorial conquest effected by the Boers ; yet its practical enforcement should even then have been limited by our formal promise of 1852 not to ally ourselves with those tribes against the Transvaal.

But it is one thing to intervene peremptorily with the conduct of a foreign State, as Great Britain and France might do in order to prevent Greece from attacking Turkey ; it is another thing to suppress the very existence of that foreign State without leaving it a chance of better conduct. It is a third course, which British Governments have usually adopted in Europe, to await the fitting opportunity for earnestly and sincerely proffering our good offices between the belligerents, to arbitrate without prejudice, and then to use persuasion, or even compulsion, if our own interest in the general peace makes it worth while, to secure the acceptance of equitable terms.

Lord Carnarvon at the outset of this unhappy affair had a difficulty in taking the third course if he had been so disposed, because President Burgers insisted on treating Secocooni as a rebel subject of the Transvaal Republic, and not as a belligerent. This is the same diplomatic hitch that has so frequently hindered British peace-making efforts, in Lord Palmerston's or Lord Clarendon's hands, from assisting the victims of civil war in Europe and America. The question of territorial jurisdiction and sovereignty over the lands occupied by the Bapedi was industriously argued out between Sir Henry Barkly and Mr. Burgers, with abundant references to old maps and documents of

land transfer. Perhaps Sir Henry was right ; and this would possibly have afforded not to Lord Carnarvon, but to our Foreign Minister, if her Majesty's Government thought fit, a tolerable pretext for threatening war against the Transvaal Republic. One word in that tone would have quieted the President and the whole Boerish Commonwealth. The natives would have been left alone, and we should have been spared an unprofitable and discreditable—annexation ; but Downing Street had otherwise provided.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, who in that and other instances has shown an equitable and generous mind, was really anxious to procure a friendly settlement of the Boers' quarrel with Secocooni by offering his own mediation. In his memorandum sent to the Colonial Office on the 27th of October, Sir Henry Bulwer with great discretion set forth the political impediments which had so far stood in the way of an amicable interposition. He had taken care, however, to inform the English "Defence Committee" at Lydenberg, and had desired them to inform the people of the Transvaal—which they never did—that his good offices were ready to be exerted to put a stop to hostilities ; and he had made a similar communication to President Burgers. No man in Sir Henry

Bulwer's position of authority could have acted more frankly and fairly. He listened to all the statements, wild as some were, that came to him from Lydenberg in the panic. He also sent Mr. Osborn, a Natal magistrate, to inquire. He believed that the Kaffir movements were not so important as people said. But he wished to restore peace without compromising the independence of a neighbouring free country. His despatch was briefly acknowledged by Lord Carnarvon, on December 23rd, with "Your proceedings appear to me to be eminently judicious, and have my entire approval."

President Burgers and his misguided supporters had recommenced the war in a different manner. The Swazies had long since quitted the country, and the Boers, despite the new Burgher Militia law, did not choose to turn out again. The foreign volunteer corps was therefore now employed almost alone, or with some local Kaffir auxiliaries, to hold Fort Burgers and one or two other posts, shutting up the enemy from the "mealie" grounds and pastures, that he might be starved into submission. A bitter personal animosity was felt by some of the English at Lydenberg against Captain von Schlickmann. He was a young Prussian officer, nephew to General von Mantuffel, had been aide-de-camp to Count von Arnim,

and won the Iron Cross by his valour on the field of Weissemburg, in 1870. Why he left Germany and tried his luck at the diamond fields of South Africa may perhaps be imagined, without supposing him to be devoid of all principles of honour. Now, the diamond fields, rightfully belonging to the Orange River Free State, exhibited for some time, with a miscellaneous rush of foreign diggers, of all classes and nations, an extraordinary spectacle. Many gentlemen there at that time could not tell what government or jurisdiction the locality was to acknowledge. A British Commissioner was sent from Cape Town, but his regulations were at first resisted by force. Among the leaders of this opposition were Von Schlickmann and his friend Mr. Aylward, who afterwards succeeded him in the Transvaal as commander of the Lydenberg Volunteers. Sir Henry Barkly's unfavourable references to their "notorious" personal antecedents may thus admit of a tolerable explanation. The young ex-military Prussian had moreover given extreme offence to the Lydenberg oponents of President Burgers by haughtily saying at Pretoria that Lydenberg must be put down. Hence the publication of one or two monstrous stories against Captain von Schlickmann, as that he had murdered two Kaffir women, and caused a number of helpless prisoners to be slaughtered.

Lord Carnarvon and Sir H. Barkly, hearing of these atrocities, called Mr. Burgers to account, and he made inquiry. It turned out that, in a skirmish with some Kaffirs in a wood, the volunteers firing at a distance inadvertently killed a woman, not being able to distinguish her sex. Two other women, who had been taken prisoners, the Captain had ordered his Kaffir followers to release; the Kaffirs wanted to keep them as slaves, to which he did not consent, but detained them a short time, while he held a council of war, lest they should go to the enemy as spies; the council of war ordered them to depart unmolested. Even Sir Henry Barkly admitted that "it is but fair" to receive this explanation. But the extracts from anonymous narratives in the "Gold Fields Mercury" and the "Transvaal Argus" were diligently forwarded to London. The Aborigines Protection Society read them with little discrimination. One or two bad cases seem to have *prima facie* evidence; there was a killing of seventeen women and children by the Kaffir auxiliaries, in the presence, it is said, of Field-Cornets Abel Erasmus and Stephan Schutte, near Kruger's Post. There were two prisoners brought to a court-martial before President Burgers himself. One was a spy, who had led the commando into an ambush; the other was a Zulu assassin, sent into the

Dutch State to murder Ketchwhy's brother. These men were condemned, and should have been hanged, but there was no tree ; or shot, but cartridges were scarce ; the President and General, having ordered them to death, committed the error of letting their native captors stab them with assegais, which was a barbarous outrage upon the feelings of civilised humanity. On the other hand, it was proved that the State Attorney had ordered the liberation of women and children, after their kraals were broken up. And they were not kept in slavery, as reported ; but the tide of prejudice had set in so strongly against the Boers, that popular opinion was now made ripe for the meditated *coup d'état* from the Colonial Office.

This was accomplished very quietly in the early months of 1877. The Transvaal Republic was very badly managed, and had fallen into shocking disorder. Its President and Legislature were then sitting at Pretoria, but its administration was failing in every official department ; the exchequer was empty, the taxes were unpaid, the salaries were unpaid ; the local magistrates, the gaols, even the post-office, were left almost without support. A revolution of some kind was inevitable, though in general the Boers want as little government and State service as any people on earth. The Kaffir war, indeed, with all its imagin-

any dangers of invasion in other eyes than those of the Dutch, had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. They had not conquered Secocooni, nor has he yet been conquered by all the efforts of British military power. But their effectual blockade of his rocky district, which yields no food, had obliged the Bapedi chief before New Year's Day to sue for peace, which was granted on his promise to refrain from molesting the Dutch, and to pay some compensation. All the hostile chiefs and tribes of the Transvaal territory were exhausted, if not subdued, by the scrambling sort of warfare that had been carried on; and no invasion or incursion was any longer feared. In the open central region, south west of Lydenberg and Middleburg, the Boers could have held their own against any Kaffir foe; but the foe was not in arms who would come against them, and the Transvaal Government was in no condition further to pursue any objectionable schemes of territorial extension.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., Special Commissioner, with a staff consisting of Colonel Brooke, R.E., Captain Clarke, R.A., Mr. Henderson, Mr. Osborn, and one of Mr. Shepstone's sons, escorted by a score of Natal Mounted Police, arrived at Pretoria on January 22nd, 1877. He sat there quietly from that day to April 12th, when he produced Queen Victoria's Royal



Commission, dated Balmoral, October 9th, and thereupon issued his Proclamation, "that the territory heretofore known as the South African Republic shall be, and shall be taken to be, British territory." I do not pretend to discuss the reasons alleged in that proclamation; my endeavour has been simply to relate preceding facts. The President of the Republic said, in his formal protest of that day, "I am not strong enough to draw the sword for the successful defence of the independence of this State against a superior Power like that of England." The Executive Council said the same, adding that it had "no desire to take any steps by which the white inhabitants of South Africa would be divided in the face of the common enemy, or might come into collision with each other, to the great danger of the whole Christian population in South Africa." The Volksraad had recently instructed the State Government to take necessary measures for maintaining its independence, as well as "for preserving the friendly understanding between the Republic and the neighbouring States and Colonies of South Africa, and for the continuance of general order, peace, and the supremacy of the whites over the natives." The sole question that I would here put to the reader's judgment and conscience is this: Was it not feasible on the part of Her Majesty's Government

to co-operate for these good objects with the commonwealth of the Transvaal, under some reformed Government, without depriving it of political independence ?

The momentous discussions—they could not be negotiations—that must have taken place, in those ten weeks previous to April 12th, between Sir T. Shepstone and the members of the Transvaal Executive, would present a very characteristic and interesting study. But it is certain that whatever was really most important would be said in private conferences ; and to relate merely what has been revealed or put on record in official correspondence would produce a false impression. It is possible from a full consideration of all the circumstances to understand the argument which finally prevailed over Dutch ideas of resistance. This was not the expected approach of such a small amount of British military force as Sir Arthur Cunynghame was then enabled to send to the Transvaal. President Burgers had visited England, and could not think it likely that our Home Government and Parliament would sanction the actual shedding of blood for such a purpose as destroying a Free State of Europeans by descent and race and language and religion, after pledging our Queen's honour twenty-five years before to respect its integrity. No,

the argument which Sir Theophilus Shepstone had to use was one of a very different nature. It was a very sharp and severe argument ; but a knife will sometimes turn and cut the hand that holds it.

And the Dutch citizens of the stifled South African Republic, what is now their disposition, and what might it have been with fairer treatment? I will quote the parting words of their delegates to London, who waited on Sir Michael Hicks-Beach last July. "We know that as a subject people, who have been deprived of our independence by such means, there will lie before us many years of bitter heart-burning and ill-feeling, of desertion of homes for wild and objectless wanderings. On the other hand, with justice and freedom, there would be every reason to hope that the Transvaal may join hand in hand with the neighbouring States and Colonies, to work together for mutual prosperity and happiness, and for the extension of civilization and Christianity into the far interior."

## CHAPTER XIII.

### OUR LAST YEAR'S KAFFIR WAR.

The eastern border of the Cape Colony.—The Galekas, and their old feud with the Fingoes.—A casual squabble.—Warfare between the tribes.—Kreli, the Galeka chief, disobeys a summons.—Outbreak of this Kaffir war.—Use of fire-arms by Galekas.—Their boldness.—Commandant C. D. Griffith.—General Sir Arthur Cunynghame.—The Tembus or Tambookies, our allies.—Gangelezwe and his wife.—Campaign in the Trans-Kei.—Flight of Kreli.—Check at Umsitzani.—Reinforcements.—Insurrection of the Gaikas.—Kreli and Sandilli.—Tini Macomo.—Battle of Quintana.—Driven into the Perie Bush.—Concluding operations.—Annexation of Pondo Land.—Sir Bartle Frere goes to Natal.

It must be borne in mind that, since responsible government was introduced in the Cape Colony, the Imperial Government had gradually withdrawn its troops. The Border lands of the Colony therefore were left entirely to the defence of the Armed and Mounted Police. The Gaikas and Galekas had for some time been under the supervision of magistrates, whose equitable administration had removed many causes of complaint. They were beginning to entertain something like content under the new régime, when unfortunately, new disturbing elements came

into existence. The opening of the diamond-fields in 1871, and the progress of railway works, were the means of opening up to the natives a fresh source of employment; but with the possession of increased means came the facility of obtaining arms in exchange for their wages. Passes for guns were at first only supplied to the Fingoes; but these people, with their strong trading instincts, soon became engaged in the lucrative business of trafficking in fire-arms with the Gaikas and Galekas. I am sorry to say that many Europeans also engaged in this pernicious trade. With the acquisition of fire-arms among these Kaffir tribes came the wish to turn the new power to account against ourselves. The Galeka chief Kreli was evidently at that time undecided about going to war against a power which he had always found too strong for him. But the possession of arms had turned the heads of his younger warriors; and their jealousy of the Fingoes, who had been located upon the Galekas' old lands on the other side of the Kei, soon fanned the flame with irresistible effect. Then, as had always been the case in former wars, the old Chief, however reluctant he might be to sanction the movement, was once more carried away by the force of circumstances over which he had no control; and so found himself again plunged into hostilities.

The Fingoes, since they have been taken under our protection, have made gratifying progress towards civilization. These settled natives have not only acquired property to a large amount, but they have opened up roads, established schools, and received an industrial mission. Again, adjoining Fingo Land to the east is the reserve known as the Idutywa, occupied by a mixed body of Kaffirs and Fingoes under a British resident. The country still occupied by Kreli's people was the narrow slip of territory between Fingo Land and the sea, extending from the Kei to the Bashee river, and containing about a thousand square miles. Here the Galekas had increased in numbers to such an extent, that the land was of too limited extent for their wants. It was not surprising, therefore that they should look with jealousy upon the intruding Fingoes ; or that they should yearn with regret for their old lands. The very fact of the Fingoes' superior prosperity augmented this hatred among the Galekas.

This seems to have been the position of affairs up to 1877. The war with Secocooni then broke out with the Boers in the northern districts of the Transvaal ; and yet another disturbing element arose in the attitude of the Zulu King Ketchwhy, who was suspected of having sent messengers to Umquikela,

Sandilli, and Kreli, in British Kaffraria, but this was never proved. There were various causes which then combined to precipitate the outbreak of war. General uneasiness prevailed, and such being the position of affairs, a slight spark was sufficient to set the country in a blaze.

There was a quarrel at a Fingo wedding, to which two inferior Galeka chiefs, at the beer-drinking, came uninvited. This ended in a fight, in which a Galeka was killed, and several others were wounded by the Fingoes. The war-cry was then sounded; a raid was made into the Fingo location by the Galekas, and more blood was shed. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor and High Commissioner, was soon on his way to the Transkei, and lost no time in proceeding to Butterworth, on the boundary between the two tribes. He summoned Kreli to appear there before him. That Chief, who was nearly seventy years of age, declined to obey the summons. He was in fact, as he afterwards confessed, quite unable to restrain the impetuosity of his young warriors. To show his good intentions, however, the missionaries and English settlers remaining in his country were by his orders escorted to a place of safety. War was declared, and the fight of Gwadana took place, on September 26th. The Galekas attacked the Fingoes in three divisions.

They were opposed by about one hundred Mounted Police under Inspector Chalmers, supported by a thousand Fingoes and a field-piece. The field-piece, however, became disabled after a few rounds; upon which the Fingoes were seized with a panic and fled. In their flight they frightened the horses, which had been left under a guard in the rear of the camp; and this occasioned the loss of one officer and six men of the Mounted Police. The latter, however, still held their ground, and the Galekas retreated with the loss of between two and three hundred of their number. Our forces then fell back on the Ibeka, where they joined the main body of the police under Commandant C. D. Griffith. At the Ibeka, on the 29th of September, Mr. Griffith was attacked by seven or eight thousand Galekas. Here an entirely new feature in Kaffir warfare was exhibited. The Galeka Kaffirs, contrary to their usual habits, came boldly into the open ground. Three different times they came on to the attack within forty yards of the earthworks.

This boldness on the part of the Kaffirs arose from their having become so much more accustomed to the use of fire-arms; many of them indeed were in possession of good rifles. Here was a practical commentary upon the shameful negligence of the colonial authorities, which could allow the open



purchase of arms, as has been seen, at the Diamond Fields and elsewhere, without making the slightest attempt to check a traffic so fatal to the interests of the European settlers. It had been notorious for months past that this was the case. General Cunynghame and others had represented the matter strongly to no purpose ; and the Transvaal Boers, alive to the danger of such proceedings, had taken effectual means to prevent the passage of natives with fire-arms through their own country.

In the engagement at Ibeka, on September 29th, the Fingoes gave way. The superior arms of the police, however, made the assailants turn, and the Kaffirs withdrew from the field with considerable loss. Mr. Griffith was promoted to the temporary rank of a Colonel in Her Majesty's Army. There were only two hundred police engaged, and two thousand Fingoes.

More frontier police had been ordered to the front ; a portion of the 88th Regiment was forwarded from Cape Town, and volunteers from all parts of the colony were rapidly concentrated. The command of the united forces was, on September 21st, taken by General Sir Arthur Cunynghame. The Tembus or Tambookies, who occupied the north-eastern border of the colony, from the Gaika location to Basuto Land, and from the Kei to the Bashee, supplied a force of

3,000 men. This force, under the command of Major Elliot, marched into the Idutywa reserve. There was already a feud between the Galekas and the Tambookie chief Gangalezwe. General Cunynghame in his book, "My Command in South Africa," gives the following account of the quarrel, which illustrates a curious phase of Kaffir manners.

"Gangalezwe, the Tambookie Chief, had married a daughter of Kreli, the Galeka. Returning one day to his kraal, his wife is said to have displeased him by making use of a word in which one or two syllables of his name occurred, for this it seems is a fatal offence amongst those people. Gangalezwe thereupon, raising his knobkerrie, struck his unfortunate wife, breaking her leg. The poor creature crawled away into the bush, and found her way eventually back to her father's hut. Gangalezwe now becoming alarmed, sent messengers to Kreli. A native account of this interview is given. The first question was, 'By whom were they sent?' The messengers' answer was, 'By the people, and in pity to the motherless children.' Then Kreli asked, 'Where are the great men of the tribe? and where are so and so?' Here the names of four or five of Gangalezwe's wives were enumerated, who were said to have been killed. The reluctant reply was, 'Dispersed and driven away by

the Chief.' After much talk, the messengers were told to return and say, 'A child has been sent by the Galekas to the Tambookies, and after a time we have heard that she has been ill-treated, (or literally, how the bones of the child have returned). We reported the matter to the Government (English), who said we might bury the bones of the child, or do as we pleased regarding them. And is it reasonable that we shall now send back this skeleton to the man who, according to your own admission, has maimed his wives? and who is now said to be cruelly ill-using the orphans whom you profess to pity? Return and say, that we sent our daughter to the Tambookie Chief; but that she has not been returned to us; she is not here.'” The meaning was that, being maimed and disfigured, she was now but the shadow or skeleton of her former self, and was no longer fit to be the wife of a Chief. For this crime, Kreli had declared war against Gangalezwe, who was ignominiously defeated, but was eventually taken under our protection, receiving a small allowance. The whole of the Tambookie tribe was therefore subject to Great Britain. The portion of it which occupied the frontier had submitted to annexation, while other sections had been settled in colonial locations adjoining the districts of Queenstown and Wodehouse.

The Gaikas were early suspected of sympathizing with the paramount Galeka chief, Kreli; some of them indeed had been actually detected joining his forces. Sir Bartle Frere demanded explanations of Sandilli, the Gaika chief; but he professedly repudiated all idea of war with the English. "Who builds ships?" said he, "Who makes cannon and gunpowder, and who builds the railways? What can people with assegais do against the English?"

A general attack on the Galekas was now commenced; Kreli's great kraal was captured by Commandant-Colonel Griffith, on the 9th of October, with the armed police and burghers, Fingoes, and Tembus; the kraal was burned and eighty Kaffirs were killed. A party of volunteers attacking the Galekas the same day killed seventy more near the Ibeka; and a few days afterwards Sir Bartle Frere issued a proclamation deposing Kreli, and annexing his land to the Colony. Kreli then took shelter in the wooded kloofs near the Bashee. The whole colonial force, consisting of 800 Europeans (mounted police and volunteers,) 3,000 Fingoes, and 1,300 Tembus, advanced in four divisions converging towards the coast. The centre column, which was composed of 250 police and burghers, and about 2,000 Fingoes, with one nine-pounder gun, was hotly attacked by the Galekas; but

these were beaten back leaving sixty-seven dead on the field, with two Europeans killed and nine wounded on our side. A quantity of cattle and of sheep and fifty horses were captured. Major Elliot, with Gangalezwe and the Tembus, fought in another conflict, killing fifty Galekas, at the mouth of the Bashee. Here he endeavoured to prevent them from crossing the drifts into Moni's country. The Bomvanas made a show of preventing the Galekas crossing, but without materially affecting their progress. Twelve thousand head of their cattle, however, were captured. This was at the end of October, 1877.

It was soon reported that the Galekas had crossed through the Bomvanas' territory, and had gone over the Umtata and the Umzimvubu, or St. John's river, into Pondo Land, where they had taken shelter with Umquikela the chief of the Pondos. Commandant Griffith thereupon gave up the pursuit, as Kreli was already heavily punished. He had had at least 700 men killed, with several chiefs, while his tribe had lost more than 13,000 head of cattle, as well as horses, sheep, and goats, and Kreli himself was in hiding.

With needless and unwise haste, the Capetown Government now proceeded to parcel out the Galeka territory. Even whilst the Galekas were retreating, a notice was issued inviting applications from colonists

to settle on Galeka Land. Within a month, however, the unsettled state of the country made it necessary to rescind this abortive notice, and to postpone the occupation of the annexed territory.

At this time it was thought prudent to disarm Mapassa, who had been allowed to cross the Kei and settle in the colony, accompanied by McKinnon, a minor chief, who was a son of Umhala. Mapassa was amenable to reason ; but McKinnon defied those who were sent to disarm him. He made his way with his followers to the Gaikas under Sandilli, near the Kabousie river, carrying his cattle with him. The Mounted Police who were sent to secure the cattle were fired upon. Mapassa and McKinnon, however, eventually paid the fines levied upon them, and the former returned across the Kei, in compliance with the Government's orders.

Meanwhile affairs in Galekaland were in a very unsatisfactory state. Commandant Griffith had applied for a reinforcement of cavalry, to prevent the Galekas from recrossing the Bashee. This was refused him by the Capetown Ministry ; and shortly after, large bodies of Galekas made good their passage across that river, securing the remnant of their cattle in places of safety. On Sunday, November 2nd, a body of 800 or 900 of them made a spirited attack upon a patrol of Police,

Volunteers, and Burghers, at Umzitzani, near Ibeka. After a two hours' fight, they carried off several horses and men, killing one of our men and wounding seven.

There was now a general outcry against the supineness of the Colonial Government. The whole eastern part of the Colony was in confusion. Stock stealing was rife everywhere; one farmer alone, whilst acting as a volunteer at the front, lost 1,000 sheep and some oxen. Trade was at a stand-still, everyone fearing instant attack. Detachments of the Royal Artillery and Engineers were now sent to the front. H.M.S. Active landed 160 men with a battery of seven-pounder guns at East London, with two Gatling guns. Simultaneously with the movement of the troops across the Kei and the occupation of the camp at Ibeka, on December 10th, Sir A. Cunynghame issued a general order, appointing Colonel Glyn to the command of the combined forces in the Transkei, and a new Burgher corps of cavalry and infantry was enrolled.

Many of the Galekas now submitted. On December 19th Botman, Kreli's chief Induna, surrendered at Ibeka, in the name of his tribe—and as he said, by order of Kreli; who was hiding in the forests, being too frightened to appear. Colonel Eustace told him

that he could only accept the unconditional surrender of the Chief and his son, and the disarmament of his warriors. Three days were given them to decide. At the expiration of that time, the armistice was declared at an end.

On December 27th, a combined movement was organized to make a clean sweep of Galeka Land, by drawing a cordon of troops round the Kaffirs, with four columns. The head-quarter column was put under the command of Colonel Glyn; the left under Captain Upcher; the right under Major Hopton, and the Bashee column under Major Elliot. The forces advanced towards the Udwessa Forest, near the Bashee. On the 20th, Colonel Glyn captured 900 head of cattle, but the Galekas evaded pursuit.

Whilst the negotiation with Kreli was going on, Kiva, Kreli's general, eluding the guards at the drifts, recrossed the Kei, near the Kabousie, into the Gaika location. This step kindled into a flame the smouldering hostility of the Gaikas. On December 28, the Gaikas made a raid into Fingo Land, killing six Fingoes and assegaing a colonist. The Fingoes attempted reprisals, and fighting went on. The Gaikas even fired upon the foot-orderlies on the Kei road, near the Komgha. Major Moore, with thirty-two policemen, was sent out to guard the mails, which



the Kaffirs attacked, but were quickly repulsed. On the next day Major Moore took forty men of the 88th regiment, and twenty policemen, to escort the post; they were met on the way by about 1,000 Kaffirs, whom they drove off after a sharp conflict. The day following this occurrence, three Europeans, one of whom was Mr. Richard Tainton, a magistrate, were cruelly murdered. Several farmhouses and stores at the Komgha were at the same time burnt, and the colonists fled for protection to the towns and camps.

On the first day of the year 1878, martial law was proclaimed in the Border districts; and the Governor called upon the colonists for volunteers. General Cunynghame despatched Colonel Glyn to the scene of the fresh outbreak, to co-operate with the force moving against the Gaikas. Near the Quintana Mountain he surprised a large force of the Galekas, which was threatening Major Owen's column. The Galekas numbered from one to two thousand, while Glyn's and Owen's united forces consisted only of 500 Europeans, and 400 Fingoes. After an engagement of two hours, the Galekas were defeated with a loss of fifty of their number.

The Kaffirs next took up a position in the Chichaba, a densely wooded kloof, west of the Kei. From this they were hunted out by Colonel Lambert of the 88th

regiment, with Captain Brabant's volunteers and a number of Fingoes. One body of them made for the fastnesses of the Kabousie, the others escaping into Bomvana Land.

Towards the end of January, Gongobella, a Tembu chief, rose and was soon joined by Umfanta, a brother of Gangalezwe. In an encounter with 600 Burghers, he suffered a severe defeat, losing 100 of his followers. He then retired to a strong position at the junction of the White and Black Kei Rivers, where he baffled all attempts made to dislodge him. On February 4th, Commandant Griffith attacked him with a force of 1,200 men, divided into four columns, driving Gongobella out and effectually routing his forces. A strange desultory warfare now ensued. The enemy, always avoiding anything like a decisive encounter, moved about in detached parties, from place to place, in their mountain fastnesses. Their women and children were constantly giving themselves up in large numbers, which was a cause of great embarrassment to the Government. It was to the Kaffirs a convenient method of getting rid of an encumbrance, knowing that they would be well treated and handed back again to them on the termination of the war.

The Capetown Ministry had sadly complicated matters by removing the colonial forces from the

command of General Sir A. Cunynghame, the Queen's Commander-in-Chief in South Africa. Sir Bartle Frere very properly refused to allow this interference ; so the Molteno and Merriman Ministry was dismissed, and a new one formed with Mr. Gordon Sprigg as Premier.

Kreli and Sandilli now effected a junction of their forces, and had the audacity to attempt a combined attack upon Captain Upcher's column at Quintana. They advanced to the attack in three divisions, consisting of from four to five thousand men, in a most determined manner. This was the most decisive affair of the whole war. The enemy were defeated with a loss of five or six hundred of their number, the remainder making their escape over the Buffalo River. It was on the 7th of February that this battle of Quintana was fought ; the loss on our side was only two Fingoes killed, and five men wounded.

Sir Arthur Cunynghame's command having expired, Major-General Sir F. Thesiger, now Lord Chelmsford, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Tini Macomo, son of the Red Macomo of colonial celebrity, had now joined the revolt with a thousand followers, taking up his position in the difficult country of the Water Kloof. Colonel Palmer of the 90th Regiment was sent to Fort Beaufort, with four hundred men and

an artillery force, to conduct operations against him. This officer succeeded in clearing both the Schelm Kloof and Water Kloof, which he occupied, the Kaffirs flying after very slight resistance. Mr. W. B. Chalmers, the Special Commissioner who had accompanied the expedition, thereupon offered to the Gaikas the option of surrendering and laying down their arms. He promised them, if they did so, that he would guarantee from the Government protection for themselves and their cattle. This offer they refused, declaring that they could put no confidence in the promise of the white man. A combined attack was then made upon them, and the Kaffirs broke up entirely, retreating into the kloofs and ravines, and abandoning their cattle. The shelling of the bush brought out two hundred of their women and children, who were marched off to Fort Beaufort. Colonel Palmer, having posted strong patrols at various points to guard the approaches to their retreats, and to prevent their re-occupation of the country, returned to head-quarters.

Sandilli now sent offers to surrender and make peace. He had taken refuge in the neighbourhood of the Black Kei, with his son Matamzima, and with Gongobella. No conditions, however, were vouchsafed to him. A combined movement made against him by the colonial forces under Commandant Griffith

only had the effect of making him change his position. Suddenly, and by a clever manœuvre, he dodged back again into the Colony, where he contrived to establish himself once more in the Perie bush, a dense and almost impenetrable forest situated at the southern extremity of the Amatolas. It is only about twelve miles from King William's Town.

When news arrived of the return of the Gaikas to the Amatolas, Mr. Lonsdale, the magistrate at the Keiskamma, went out with a Fingo contingent, but was obliged to retire. Two companies of the 24th Regiment were then despatched from King William's Town, together with some volunteers. The Commander-in-Chief, Major-General Thesiger, directed the operations. The troops succeeded, by a series of forced marches, in arriving at the Perie bush before the Gaikas had time to scatter in the direction of the more remote and inaccessible parts of the Amatolas. A line of posts was established to prevent their retreat in that direction.

The Imperial forces had been joined by a body of 1,200 colonists, chiefly consisting of mounted volunteers. Notwithstanding this superior force, their efforts to dislodge a thousand Kaffirs who had taken refuge in the bush were unavailing. Captain Donovan, Lieutenant Ward, and Captain Bradshaw were

shot ; and Commandant Brabant, at the head of 150 mounted volunteers, fell into an ambuscade, and had to retire. Seyolo's and Jali's tribes, as well as Tini Macomo, now joined Sandilli, despite the cordon drawn around his position. These had been reported disaffected, and had therefore fled, from fear, probably, more than for any other reason, to the mountain stronghold. Some of them took up their position in the bush between the Debe Neck and the Tabin-doda mountain, a little to the west of the Perie. An attack made on these by Colonel Warren R.E., with the Diamond Fields Horse, led to their further flight into the bush, where pursuit was impracticable.

For a while, Sandilli baffled all attempts to dislodge him ; but additional reinforcements raised General Thesiger's forces to 5,500 Europeans and 3,700 natives, with 2,000 horses and nineteen guns. The attack was again commenced with renewed vigour. Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., had an encounter in the bush-path, advancing from Burnshill ; Lieutenant Saltmarsh was here killed, and Captain Stevens was dangerously wounded. They drove back the Kaffirs, however, and killed several of them. During the fight, four hundred women came out of the bush, throwing themselves between the Kaffirs and the troops, thus enabling their men to escape.

After this, three or four times, Sandilli sent messengers to sue for peace; but nothing less than unconditional surrender would be accepted. The Kaffirs were now greatly disheartened. Their supplies of food had run short. They were occasionally found lying about, dead from starvation. At last both Sandilli and Dukwana, his best warrior, were killed in a skirmish with some Fingoes, in the last days of May. The old chief being dead, the defeat of the Gaikas was virtually accomplished. One by one the subordinate leaders were killed, or fell into our hands. It was like the winding up of a melodrama. Seyolo was killed fighting the volunteers; Tini Macomo, with two of the Sandilli, brother and son of the late chief, were captured, also Gongobella and Umfanta. The work of disarmament was carried out by degrees among their divided and disorganised followers. So the Gaikas, as a tribe, were at last utterly broken up. As they were disarmed, the natives were scattered about in different settled parts of the colony.

The campaign in the Transkei was meanwhile being finished in a very similar fashion. The troops were continually dispersing the remnants of the Galeka tribe there. Colonel Glyn, learning fortunately where Kreli's general Kiva had taken refuge, sent a force in command of Commandant Prattle in pursuit. They

overtook him, and he was killed, with his three brothers and two uncles. This last stroke of fate was too much for Kreli, who at length intimated that he was about to surrender. It was resolved to treat him as a State prisoner. The Galekas are still being gradually disarmed ; and both Gaikas and Galekas may be said to be utterly broken up and dispersed by the last Kaffir war, from September, 1877, to June, 1878. It was immediately followed by the annexation of all the remaining districts of Kaffraria, including the land of the Pondos, which is adjacent to the southern frontier of Natal. The British authorities here deposed Umquikela, the Pondo chief, who made no resistance; and the country on both sides of the St. John's River was taken into our possession.

It was estimated by Mr. Brownlee, the Commissioner for Native Affairs, that in this last Kaffir War there were six or seven thousand of the natives living within the colonial pale, west of the Kei, who took up arms against the British Government. The estimated number of those who did not join in the revolt was between nine and ten thousand, including those employed in our transport service, the labourers in private employment, and the people settled around missionary stations. In the work of pacification that followed, and the organisation of new direct British



rule for Galeka Land, Pondo Land, and East Griqua Land, Sir Bartle Frere was most beneficially employed during several months of last year. He was meantime frequently solicited by Sir T. Shepstone to intervene with his full authority, as High Commissioner, in the irritating land dispute between the Zulu kingdom and the administration of the Transvaal. The territorial question so long and so angrily striven about with Ketchwhy, under the Dutch and the English possessors of that country, had indeed been made the subject of an impartial arbitration, and its equitable decision was ready to be announced in July. But it was not till September 23rd, 1878, that Sir Bartle Frere arrived in Natal, for the first time in his life; and our present Zulu War then at once became imminent, where the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal was still hoping and pleading for continued peace on his own provincial frontier.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### OUR DISPUTE WITH KING KETCHWHYO.

Long-standing Transvaal disputes with Ketchwhyó.—Sir Henry Bulwer disposed to friendly mediation.—He dissuades Ketchwhyó from attacking the Swazies.—Rumour of atrocities in Zulu Land.—The King rejects British interference with his laws.—His angry speech.—The Transvaal boundary question.—The alleged cession of territory to the Dutch.—The English Commission of Enquiry.—Decision in favour of the Zulus.—Sir T. Shepstone now opposes the Zulu claim.—His equivocal position in the Transvaal.—Ketchwhyó is “sold.”—Border disturbances.—Sir Bartle Frere already intent on conquest.—His war preparations.—His protracted controversy with the Natal Commissioners of Enquiry, and with Sir H. Bulwer.—The award rendered nugatory by impossible conditions.—The ultimatum of December 11th.—Moral responsibility for this unjust war.

THE Special Commissioner, Annexer and Administrator of the Transvaal, who had been during so many years Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, held in his hands a bundle of threads of South African policy; one end of which was attached to the inconvenient Republic of the Dutch Boers, and the other to “Somtseu’s” adopted royal “son,” the Zulu King Ketchwhyó. This was an “open secret” not officially to be noticed at the Colonial

Office, but well understood by those who had watched the progress of affairs; and it is the key to some past transactions related in former chapters, and possibly to some future events which now appear to be looming in the political horizon.

The deceased Republican Government, which showed its fatal imprudence in so many ways, committed a huge mistake in August, 1875, when it sent a rather stern message to Zulu Land requiring Ketchwhy to pledge his word that he would not interfere with the Amaswazi, and to prevent his subjects trespassing on Dutch territory, and to deliver up murderers who got across his frontier. Mr. Shepstone's remark at the time was that he did not believe the Transvaal Government was in circumstances which would enable it to go to war against the Zulu King, or that it had any serious intention of doing so, but this message would have an irritating effect. His view of it was correct; the causes of that dispute were already familiar to the Natal Government. One was the position of the Swazi people, over whom, as subjects of Chaka's historic Empire, Ketchwhy always claimed a sovereign title, and in whose blood, as he often said, he wished his young warriors to "wash their spears." They had preferred to put themselves under a Protectorate latterly extended to them by the Transvaal

Republic, which soon after this date, as we have seen, borrowed the aid of their ferocious valour in its war against Secocooni. The Dutchmen, following the English example with a formal coronation of their special *protégé*, installed a king of the Amaswazi, as Ketchwhyho had been crowned by Mr. Shepstone. They either instigated or allowed him to order all Zulus to withdraw from his dominion—which lay north of the Pongolo river. Here was a great insult to his Zulu Majesty; but there was another substantial matter of contention. This concerned the sovereignty of that portion of territory in the Utrecht district, north-west of Zulu Land, between the Buffalo and the Pongolo, which had for some years past been occupied by Dutch farmers. The Boers declared that it had been ceded to them by Panda, and that Ketchwhyho, then heir apparent, was party to the cession, as it were cutting off the entail. It has long been much more than a mere land dispute; to the King it became a point of honour, and to his Indunas or Council of State one of national policy. This is the leading question that has pervaded all the relations between the Zulu kingdom and the actual possessors of the Transvaal. We have taken it over along with the other responsibilities, a *damnum hereditas* if ever there was, bequeathed to Her

Majesty's Government by the late independent Free State which we smothered with a paper proclamation two years ago.

Before Sir T. Shepstone's visit to England and conferences with the Earl of Carnarvon in 1876, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal was taking pains, in a strictly impartial and friendly spirit, upon the information supplied by Sir T. Shepstone, to preserve peace between his two northern neighbours. He addressed counsels of moderation both to Ketchwhy and to the Government at Pretoria, endeavouring to put before each the most favourable construction of the other's motives, while he kept Lord Carnarvon informed of their dispute. During the absence of Sir T. Shepstone, the Lieutenant-Governor still watched every indication of the Zulu King's state of mind, employing Mr. Osborn and others to inquire about the affairs of that country. Messages were now and then exchanged through Mr. John Dunn, and by natives sent to and fro. Mr. Dunn wrote out for Ketchwhy a rather vague statement and argument upon the territorial question, which was early forwarded to the Colonial Office. Native messengers from Natal reported that the King talked of asking leave to attack some other tribe, he did not say whom, but they thought he meant the Swazies.

They learned that guns were now cheap in Zulu Land, and to be bought for calves; not only the young men had got them, but also the young women about the King's Kraal, who shot very well, killing numbers of birds. It appeared that some Zulus had been with the Bapedi in the Transvaal fighting, but these were only small detached parties on their own private account. Ketchwhyho was in correspondence with Secocooni. Sir H. Bulwer was also somewhat apprehensive of the "uneasy, restless, warlike feeling" in the Zulu nation, and of its exasperation against the Boers. He was requested in September by President Burgers to use his friendly influence and prevent Ketchwhyho making an attack upon the Swazies. In reply to further admonitions of the Lieutenant-Governor, Ketchwhyho said that he had not done anything which the Natal Government would think wrong, as he knew the Englishmen were just and peace-loving, and he looked on them as his fathers, but he could not understand why they would not give him leave to wash his spears, according to the custom of kings. The messengers on their road were told stories of the putting to death of girls and young men, and of the girls' parents, for disobeying the laws with regard to marriage. Sir Henry Bulwer inquired about this, but got no sub-

stantial evidence of the fact; he nevertheless sent to Ketchwhyho expressing a hope that such rumours were not true, and reminding him of the counsels given to him by Sir T. Shepstone at his coronation.

It was near the end of October, 1876, that this admonition was delivered. Upon that single occasion, as the native messengers reported on their return to Natal, Ketchwhyho vented his anger in a haughty and violent declaration that he would kill—he had never promised Mr. Shepstone not to kill—it was the custom of his nation—he had scarcely yet begun to kill. “Why do the white people start at nothing?” he asked. “Why does the Governor of Natal speak to me about my laws? Do I go to Natal and dictate to him about his laws? I wish to be friends with the English, but I will not agree to give my people over to be governed by laws or rules from Natal. I do kill; my people will not listen unless they are killed. Am I to throw the large kraal which I govern into the water? These white men treat me like a child, and keep playing with me. Go back and tell the English I shall now act on my own account. Rather than agree to their laws, I shall leave and become a wanderer; but I shall not go without having acted, and before I go it will be seen. Go back and tell the white men this, and let them hear it well. The

Governor of Natal and I are equal ; he is Governor of Natal, and I am Governor here." Such language might not be deemed unkingly, if it were not associated with the practice of cruelty and tyranny in his own dominions. But Mr. Osborn, at Newcastle, heard about this time those terrible reports, which have never been precisely framed, of the putting of young women to death in Zulu Land. He also heard that the King had been reproved by his brother Uhamu, who had in vain begged him to spare his people. "My own notion," says Mr. Osborn, "is that rum from Umhlati is to blame for all this." It was so with King Theodore of Abyssinia, and so it might possibly be with King Ketchwhy. But his ordinary personal demeanour, and his discourse before English visitors, have never been defiant or insolent ; and he has usually professed a great aversion to killing people except in war, or in the execution of sorcerers and other criminals. An interesting narrative which Bishop Colenso sent to "*Macmillan's Magazine*," of the conversations of a Christian Zulu with his Majesty in June, 1877, contrasts favourably with the outburst of passing rage and sudden fierceness just now reported. Sir H. Bulwer indeed regarded his language to these messengers as betokening a changed temper and war-like intention. "He has not only been preparing for



war apparently, but he has been sounding the way for a combination of the native races against the white men." That was Sir Henry's impression in November, 1876, but he observed that such a combination might or might not be possible among the different chiefs; and the Indunas at the court of Ketchwhyho would dissuade him from any action likely to offend the English Government. It is observable that Mr. John W. Shepstone, then acting in his father's place as Native Affairs Secretary, states that the uncompromising speech in which Ketchwhyho told the messengers he would not attend to English remonstrances about killing his own people was not uttered in the presence of any of the Zulu Indunas, or of the Princes, his brothers. Hence the leading men of the Zulu nation would probably not consider it a regular formal answer, or a deliberate act of the King's Government. It stands quite alone in the history of his past dealings with the official representatives of Great Britain. It may have been a casual display of intemperance, or of a passionate mood that day; for he said, a few days after that, "I have not got all I want, but it is peace."

In letters dated a fortnight later, Sir Henry speaks of Zulu warlike preparations against the Swazies, and of Ketchwhyho's attempt to get Mr. Rudolph, who had

gone to him about the boundary question, to consent to his attacking that nation. This at first seemed inexplicable, for Mr. Rudolph was an official of the Transvaal Republic; but it presently appeared that Ketchwhyó had mistaken him for an envoy of the Natal Government, in whose service he had been at a former period. Sir T. Shepstone, however, was then on his voyage back to Africa, with his secret instructions by which the Transvaal Republic, and its existing claims, whatever they might be worth, should be converted into what we call British interests. Neither Ketchwhyó nor Sir Henry Bulwer had the slightest notion of such an intended transformation.

The result, in any case, of all that had transpired at the end of that year, was to give a strong colour to the opinion that the Zulu King meant to provoke and challenge a war against the Transvaal Republic; and this was doubtless the forcible argument by which Sir T. Shepstone convinced the Dutch Government at Pretoria, between January and April, that they could not resist annexation to the British Empire. He then assumed the rank and power of Administrator, or actual Governor of the Transvaal. Having to act in a different capacity, on behalf of different public interests, his attitude towards the Zulu Kingdom and other

Native interests was necessarily all at once changed. This appeared in subsequent novel developments of the disputed territorial question, till the award by which it ought to have been settled last year.

The grounds of that question are very precisely shown, with an elaborate analysis of the whole of the evidence collected, in the Report, dated June 20th, 1878, of the Commissioners of Inquiry appointed by Sir Henry Bulwer; which Report, with his own thoughtful comments and earnest recommendations, was in July forwarded by the Lieutenant-Governor to Sir Bartle Frere and to the Secretary of State.

It related especially to a tract of country, about eighty miles in extreme length and sixty miles in greatest breadth, situated east of the Blood river, which flows from north to south, and joins the Buffalo a little above Rorke's Drift. The country west of the Blood river is the district of Utrecht, concerning which also the Commissioners reported, but that was not so much in dispute. To the north of the above-mentioned tract of country is the large river Pongolo, flowing eastward and forming the northern boundary, as generally reputed, of the Zulu kingdom. A line of some hundred and twenty miles' length had to be drawn across, from the boundary of Natal, which is the Buffalo river above Rorke's Drift, to strike the

Pongolo. The drawing of this line, whether it should closely follow up the course of the Blood river, or this or that tributary stream, or whether it should be carried far away to the eastward, taking a large piece of territory from the Zulu kingdom, was the proper subject of this inquiry.

The Transvaal Dutch Republic had long claimed this piece of territory, in addition to the Utrecht district, under two alleged formal cessions by the Zulu King, the one in 1854, the other in 1861. It was agreed by everybody that the whole country belonged to the Zulus before either Natal or the Transvaal came into European possession, as both the Dutch and the English made treaties with the Zulus for their respective boundaries. In 1847, five Dutch farmers of Natal went over the Buffalo, and got from King Panda a license to occupy some of the grazing lands on the Zulu side. It was alleged that Panda ceded to these men, in 1854, all the country between the Buffalo and the Blood river, nearly a hundred miles each way, for the price of a hundred head of cattle. This deed of cession, with Panda's signature, which was not witnessed, is rejected by the Commissioners as a forgery. But the portion of country just mentioned, west of the Blood river, has become the settled and inhabited district of Utrecht, with a town of that name, which in

1859 was incorporated with the Transvaal Republic. It has never been proposed to restore that portion to the Zulus.

In 1861, a commission appointed by the Dutch Commonwealth for the purpose had some negotiations with Ketchwhy, who already grasped the ruling power in his father's lifetime. Panda had left his former alliance with the Boers, and had turned to the English of Natal. The Boers now, therefore, proposed to get Ketchwhy appointed his future successor, and meantime lawful regent, in order that he might be subservient to the Transvaal Government. They wanted, in fact, to do for the ambitious and energetic young Prince neither more nor less than what Mr. Shepstone presently contrived to do for him—to make him their puppet and tool. An officious Dutchman, instead of the Englishman, would then have paid his respects to King Panda; and would have procured from his Zulu Majesty, as Mr. Shepstone did, the honorary privilege of “personating Chaka,” so that he might be qualified, as putative great ancestor of the Royal House, to occupy the post of guardian or “father” of Ketchwhy during his minority. And so, after the death of old Panda, in 1873, it would have been the Special Commissioner from the Transvaal Republic, instead of Mr. Shepstone from Natal, that would have

attended as "Chief Witness," and would have performed the Coronation ceremony.

Here let us sorrowfully observe that it seems to be by this paltry, mean, unworthy diplomatic rivalry between certain foreign-influence pretensions, belonging respectively to the Natal and the Transvaal Government, during the past eighteen years, that all the mischief among the Zulus has been caused. The opportunities of jointly exercising a just, wholesome, liberal civilizing and Christianizing influence by the faithful co-operation of the English and Dutch Governments have been sadly wasted. I fear, too, that the character of white men for truthfulness, integrity, and fair dealing, as well as the prestige of European knowledge and power, has been somewhat obscured in the native mind, both these civilised nations seeming ever intent on defaming and supplanting one another by underhand intrigues.

The Transvaal Dutchmen of 1861, who were not at all scrupulous, would have bought Ketchwhyó as cheap as they could, and the public rights of his kingdom into the bargain. He for his part wanted their help to recapture two of his brothers and two other Zulu chiefs who had resisted his title to rule. How much that title of Ketchwhyó's Regency was then worth, until it had been formally confirmed by Panda,

it is not easy to say ; but I have elsewhere cited Mr. Grout's statement, that the Great Assembly of the Chiefs in 1857 had already appointed him. It does not follow that Ketchwhyho was competent in 1861 to cede public rights. The Transvaal people affirm that on the 3rd of April, 1861, at Sirayo's kraal on the Bashee, near Rorke's Drift, their Border Commissioners, P. Joordaan, G. M. Smuts, and F. Du Plessis, with D. A. Sandbrink, secretary, met Ketchwhyho accompanied by his brother Uhamu and two of his captains ; having six days previously negotiated the business with Zulu plenipotentiaries. They produced a document, purporting to be signed by Ketchwhyho and the others, which cedes to the Transvaal that large tract of country east of the Blood river ; the nominal payment for which, they say, was twenty-five cows and a bull, with a saddled and bridled horse ; but the delivery of his rebellious brothers, whose lives he promised to spare, was the real consideration. The signatures to this deed were not witnessed by any Zulus ; nor is there any record of the paper having been read over and explained to Ketchwhyho, and the secretary, D. A. Sandbrink, does not know the Zulu language. Another document which is put in to support the cession being a pretended authorisation from Panda, has been clearly detected as a fabrication, for it refers

to the presence of Sir T. Shepstone, who was not there at the date. The next step is alleged to have been a confirmation by King Panda, on the 5th of August, of the cession of land said to have been made by Ketchwhy on the 3rd of April; "so far as his captains would point it out;" that is to say, the boundary of the ceded land was to be precisely ascertained. This document is said to have been interpreted by T. Potgieter to Panda, and signed by the old king in presence of three Dutchmen; but it appears that Potgieter cannot speak Zulu. Panda repeatedly denied, at a later period, and so did all his councillors, that he had ever agreed to such a transaction. But in December, 1864, there was a meeting of Dutch commissioners with two Zulus, Gebula and Gunjini, on the boundary line, to place "beacons" or piles of stones all along the proposed frontier, from the Buffalo to the Pongolo. The two Zulus were taken as representatives of Panda and Ketchwhy, but there is no proof that Panda had appointed either of them. They were persons of no importance among the Zulus. The Transvaal President, Martinus Pretorius, with Paul Kruger and Joseph Fourie, of the Executive Council, and with P. Joordaan, was present at the outset. But these did not accompany the two Van Staadens, Commissioners, with the two Zulus, along the new boundary



line. The "beacons" were actually put up by an armed patrol of the Boers, on land the property of the Zulu border clans, "in the absence of any representative of these clans, or even of spectators from the neighbouring kraals, whose land was then being given away." This was the pretended act of cession of the disputed territory.

The English Commission of Inquiry, last year, composed of Mr. M. H. Gallwey, Attorney-General for Natal, Mr. J. W. Shepstone, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs, and the late Colonel A. W. Durnford, R. E., with Captain A. C. Jackson, of the Buffs, secretary, decidedly rejects the above Transvaal claim. "We desire it to be understood," say these gentlemen, "that there has been no cession of land at all by the Zulu kings past and present, or by the nation." There has been no recognition by the Zulus of Boer occupation, nor any abandonment of Zulu occupation. The country has been and still is occupied by the Border clans. There has been no jurisdiction exercised by the Transvaal authorities there, nor any overt act amounting to an assertion of their right to the land. "It has never ceased to be Zulu territory, and is Zulu territory by right, and should be considered as such," are the words of Sir Henry Bulwer writing last July to Bartle Frere.

And this was the opinion which had always been held in Natal, and Ketchwhyho had our moral support in resisting the fraudulent claim, until the Transvaal with all its perquisites became a British possession in the hands of Sir T. Shepstone. We had virtually said to Ketchwhyho, about this valuable territory in dispute with the Boers, "It is yours, not theirs;" but presently we stepped into their shoes, and then we said to him, "It is not yours, but ours." We at first gave credit to his word of honour, to that of his father, and to the resolutions of his councillors and peers, upon a question concerning both the national territory, and the constitutional right to alienate that territory; for it seems to be, as the Commission reports, "simply impossible, under Zulu customs, that this large tract of border should have been taken from the clans without the full knowledge and sanction of their chiefs." Ketchwhyho, personally and in his office of king, would be deeply compromised. We at first, in 1876 and long before, disapprove of the Dutch land claim, and take part with Ketchwhyho, intimating our displeasure at the encroachments of the Transvaal Government. In 1873, the Natal Government asked permission to take temporary charge to protect Zulu interests. But in 1877, after we have incontinently leapt into the Transvaal, our Administrator of that province, the

identical Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., Ketch-whyo's former Mentor and civilising patron in Natal, whom he called "my Father Somtseu," discovers at Pretoria, that the Transvaal has a good title to this land. No, it was "in conversation at Utrecht with some Dutch farmers," as he says in a letter to Lord Carnarvon; it was some weeks after Sir Theophilus had met the Zulu Prime Minister, Mnyamana, and the other Indunas, on the 18th of October, in the conference on the Blood river. A Mr. Conrad Meyer, at Utrecht, opened the eyes of Sir Theophilus, who before that "knew but the Zulu side." He was much surprised by the "self-asserting, aggressive, and arrogant spirit" of the Zulu Prime Minister and Councilors. Much more surprised he must have been "some weeks after," when, from conversation with the Dutch Border farmers, as he says, "I then learned for the first time, what has since been proved by evidence the most incontrovertible, overwhelming, and clear, that this boundary line had been formally and mutually agreed upon, and had been formally ratified by the giving and receiving of tokens of thanks; and that the beacons had been built up in the presence of the President and members of the Executive Council of the Republic, in presence of commissioners from both Panda and Cetewayo." Sir T. Shepstone gives this

information to Lord Carnarvon, on January 2nd, 1878, as an entirely new discovery, upon the faith of what a Dutchman on the Border had then just told him ; but the English Commission of Inquiry, a few months later, gives a very different account of the transaction. But Sir T. Shepstone, in his public acts of government of the Transvaal, was already taking part with the Boers against the Zulus, contrary to all that Sir H. Bulwer and the Natal Government had been doing, and were still continuing to do. Ketchwhy, who is described by "Somtseu" himself as a shrewd, frank, and straightforward man, could not understand this course of dealing with him, or perhaps understood it too well, and naturally resented it. He sends messengers to Sir H. Bulwer in January of last year, thanking the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal for his proposal to get the boundary question settled by arbitration, or by a commission of inquiry. "They are all good words," he says, "that have been sent to Ketchwhy by the Governor of Natal ; they show that the Natal Government still wishes Ketchwhy to drink water and live. He had hoped that Somtseu (Sir T. Shepstone) would have settled all these matters, but he has not done so. He (Somtseu) wishes to cast Ketchwhy off ; he is no more a father, but a firebrand. If he is tired of carrying Ketchwhy now, as he did

while he was with the Natal Government, then why does he not put him down, and allow the Natal Government to look after him, as it has always done?"

Ah, why not, indeed! The answer is perhaps to be found in the position of our new administration of the Transvaal, and in the political and personal exigencies created by that lawless act of April the 12th, 1877, the false pretexts for which had already been openly belied in the all but unanimous protest of the Dutch population against the overthrow of their independent Free State. The Volksraad, the Executive Council, and the President, had only made their official protest at the time; but since then we have had two special delegates, Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, men formerly high in office, sent by the standing committees of Dutch patriots, to remonstrate in London with Her Majesty's Government. They have twice come to London, and have been met here with the coldest civility, as by the High Commissioner out there, but with the reply, *stet pro ratione voluntas*, that the annexation will be definitive. Yet it was a provisional and temporary annexation that the Queen spoke of, in her Royal Commission of October 6th, 1876, to Sir T. Shepstone, and that was to be only in case it should seem necessary "for the peace and safety of our Colonies, and of our subjects elsewhere." Let

that pass ; the Transvaal and its political rights may possibly be heard of again. The 40,000 Dutchmen over whom Sir T. Shepstone was ruling in 1877 were resolute in opposition. Out of the 8,000 electors or enfranchised burghers in the late Republic, 6,591 have signed 125 separate district or local memorials against their annexation to the British Empire, while only 587 have signed the thirty one memorials in its favour. How was Sir T. Shepstone to conciliate this obstinate people? How, indeed, but through his ostentatious adoption of their Border quarrels with the various native tribes, but especially with Secocooni and Ketchwhy, their previous antagonists, and by the assertion of Transvaal territorial claims to the north-east and south-east, which our Government had before disapproved? So it came to pass that we have made war against Secocooni, with no better military success than poor Mr. Burgers did, in the Lulu mountains over the Steelpoort, accepting the services, as local volunteer captains, of certain Dutch field-cornets, who were denounced at Lydenberg for alleged cruelties in 1876. We have lately invited the ferocious Swazies, the butchers of women and children at Johannes' Kop, to be our allies in the invasion of Zulu Land, as they were the allies of the Dutch Republic. And before the British administration of the Transvaal was six

months old, its author and manager was prepared to repudiate the unquestionable title of the Zulu Kingdom to the border lands south of the Pongolo, and he found out, "in conversation at Utrecht with some Dutch farmers," that the Dutch claim, which we now at least know to be fraudulent, was really well founded. Is that the way to help Ketchwhyto to keep his temper? Might not the Zulu King and nation feel themselves a little "sold"?

"It is beyond question," writes Sir Henry Bulwer, "that there is a very large party in Zulu Land eager for war, regardless of all consequences, and that this party has recently been very clamorous. So far, calmer counsels have prevailed; and the answer of the King shows, I think, that he recognises the consequences of a contest with the English, and that he is not indisposed to avail himself of the means of a peaceable settlement of the dispute, if such can be found." That is a description, by the only reliable and highly responsible British authority, of the actual state of our relations with Ketchwhyto at the beginning of last year. Sir Henry Bulwer had just then terminated an anxious correspondence with Sir T. Shepstone upon the subject. He had pointed out that there was no chance of a peaceful settlement by direct negotiations between the Transvaal Government and the Zulu

King, as the feeling of the Boers against the Zulus was so bitter, and they were now so angry with the new Government of the Transvaal. He had proposed to Sir Bartle Frere, on the 10th of December, 1877, that the dispute should be referred to a friendly arbitration, and he recommended that the person or persons chosen should come either from England or from the Cape Colony, to be impartial and unprejudiced. He had explained these proposals in a message to Ketchwhy, from the answer to which I have quoted one or two sentences above ; but it was this which had been thankfully accepted by Ketchwhy, as "good words from the Governor of Natal." The King would be glad, he said, if the Governor of Natal would send his representatives to see what the Zulu claims were ; and then, "if these cannot come to an understanding on the matter, a letter can be sent across the sea for other people to come and see what can be done." This was the position into which Sir H. Bulwer, whose conduct from first to last is admirable, had got the perilous business, with scanty and grudging approbation of his official superior, as Sir Bartle Frere already supported the Transvaal claim. It was carefully impressed on Ketchwhy by Sir H. Bulwer that both the Transvaal and Natal Governments were the general English Government ; that "the



English have always treated the Zulus with justice, and in this matter their only desire is that justice shall be done." Unfortunately, Ketchwhyho has never personally met any Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, or Governor of the Cape Colony ; his direct conversation with English Government officers has gone no higher than his "father Somtseu." It is a pity he was not, in happier days, once invited to Pietermaritzburg or even to Cape Town, and entertained there as we do the Shah of Persia or the Sultan of Zanzibar in London. Our Foreign Office, but again not our Colonial Office, is apt to show these useful courtesies to the princes whose friendship we desire to keep.

The risks of an outbreak of Border hostilities, pending the vexatious discussions which were prolonged for months and years, seem to have been chiefly in the other disputed territory, north of the Pongolo, which the Transvaal Republic had claimed to have procured from the Amaswazi. There were German and English settlers in that region, about Lüneburg and elsewhere ; but there were also many resident Zulus, and Ketchwhyho sent a party of men, as it appears, to build a kraal for the abode of a chief whom he appointed to look after them as tribal magistrate. This was exercising a claim of territorial jurisdiction and sovereignty, to which the Zulu king had probably

no right, but the past relations of that Swazi country to Zulu Land have never yet been carefully examined. It had not been considered, here again, previously to the annexation of the Transvaal, that the Swazies could have lawfully transferred all that large extent of territory north of the Pongolo to the Dutch Republic. This was, however, a portion of the affairs in dispute very capable, as Sir H. Bulwer thought, of some amicable arrangement. The difficulty here would lie in persuading Ketchwhyto to renounce his ancient feud with the Swazies, whom he had been longing to attack since 1875, and to "wash his spears" amongst them. But some unfortunate disorders had lately taken place in the mixed Border population; several of the European settlers, who were about twenty families in all, had their property damaged by riotous gangs of the Zulus, and were ordered to leave the country. There was, in fact, no sufficient local resident police authority, either British or Zulu, and outrages were perpetrated by Zulus with impunity, to the injury of the German farmers. But these well-grounded complaints had nothing to do with the subject of inquiry dealt with by the Commissioners in their Report of last June.

That report, as we have seen, was in favour of the Zulus against the Transvaal; but Sir Bartle Frere

had made up his mind against the Zulus long before he came to Natal, and sent Lord Chelmsford there before him to make preparations for war, postponing meanwhile for several months his authoritative "award" upon the disputed questions which had been so laboriously investigated. Several unhappy incidents, but quite occasional and isolated occurrences in this interval of time, furnished very serious themes of severe official denunciation. The worst of these was a really shocking affair which took place in the latter part of July. Two of the wives of Sirayo, the great Zulu chief residing not far from the Natal frontier at Rorke's Drift, escaped with men of their own country and were pursued over the border. One was seized on British ground by the sons and brother of Sirayo, with whom were threescore armed servants, and was dragged away, in a horridly brutal manner, with a rope about her body, to be shot on the Zulu side of the Buffalo. The other was treated in a somewhat similar manner. I hope no Englishmen have ever been known to have been guilty of brutal cruelty to women, dragging them about, beating, kicking, and murdering them, in revenge for adultery or any other fault of their sex. And I suppose we must agree with the Bishop of Natal in rejecting the Divine origin of the Pentateuch, if the Mosaic law for stoning an adulteress

to death, as set forth in Deuteronomy, was as bad among the children of Israel as it is among the Zulus. I do not excuse the Zulus, as was suggested, because they regard women as cattle ; and instead of punishing an adulteress with death, I would only tell her to go and sin no more. But as for this case, the like of which is of common occurrence among barbarous nations—and how do the Turkish Pashas deal with their unfaithful wives?—it has been made the most of to justify a sanguinary war of conquest, and I beg the reader to observe that it had nothing of a political character, and that King Ketchwhyho has earnestly apologised for it as “the rash act of boys,” though he did not hasten to give up the young men of Sirayo’s house to be tried for their offence in Natal. They might possibly have been punished by his own orders in Zulu Land. This incident, however, is a fair theme of diplomatic remonstrance, to a certain extent, with regard to the casual infringement of British territorial jurisdiction. There is also the case of two colonial engineers, Mr. Smith and another, who were very improperly sent across the frontier river, without Zulu permission, to make a survey of the ford at Middle Drift ; they were arrested by a party of Zulus, who detained them an hour and a half, and let them go, taking Mr. Smith’s tobacco-pipe and handkerchief.

An apology has been ready to be made likewise for this trifling transgression on the part of the Zulus, if we could have the face to receive it with a consciousness of the warlike preparations against their country which were then being arrayed on our side. No further record appears of any positive outrages committed by them on the Natal frontier; and the Lieutenant Governor of Natal bears testimony that there is "no reason whatever to believe that these acts have been committed with the consent or knowledge of the king." With regard to the local disorders (destruction of houses and gardens, not in any case attended with bloodshed) on the disputed frontier of the Transvaal south of the Pongolo, there are reports by Mr. H. C. Shepstone, Transvaal Native Affairs Secretary, and by the Landdrost of Utrecht. Ketch-whyso said that these things were not done by his orders, but by the Zulus of the border; and Sir H. Bulwer says that they were only done to prevent the Transvaal people settling again on lands which the Zulus regarded as their own.

In the months of July, August, and September last, Sir Bartle Frere was at Capetown, a thousand miles from Natal and the Zulus, at the other side of South Africa. He found ingenious reasons for controverting the decision of the Natal Enquiry Commissioners,

earnestly supported by Sir Henry Bulwer, who pleaded for a speedy acknowledgment and settlement of the Zulu rightful claims. It was in vain that inquiry had been procured, by the Lieutenant-Governor's patient and steadfast labours since the previous October, of which the perplexed and harassed Ketchwhyho had said, "I am glad now I shall have peace, now I shall be able to sleep." The High Commissioner was far otherwise minded ; his unsleeping political activity had scarcely conquered the remaining tribes of Kaffraria from the Kei to the Umzimkulu ; but he was maturing the plan of a new consolidated British dominion to the north-east, as far as Delagoa Bay. We cannot doubt the benevolence of his intentions, for he is a great and good man, one of the best of Indian rulers, "*omnium consensu capax imperii*," an eminent philanthropist and patron of religious missions, and the late successful anti-slavery diplomatist at Zanzibar. Yet from a critical perusal of the ample and minute controversial despatches that passed between Sir Bartle Frere, on the one hand, and Sir Henry Bulwer on the other, with the Minutes and Memoranda of the Natal Commissioners, this eminent person's sense of equity does not seem equal to his other public and private virtues.

This correspondence begins with Sir H. Bulwer's letter of July 8th to Sir Bartle Frere upon the Report

of the Commissioners forwarded to his Excellency a week before ; and it finishes with the last communication, dated November 18th, from those Commissioners, namely, Mr. Gallwey, the Natal Attorney-General, Mr. J. W. Shepstone, and Colonel Durnford. The first letter, with the Commissioners' Report of June 23rd, will be found in the Blue Book C.—2220 (Appendix), issued on December 6th, and the remainder in the February issue, C.—2222 ; the whole filling more than a hundred pages. I cannot here enter into a thorough analysis of the multifarious objections raised by Sir Bartle Frere to making the expected award in frank conformity with the deliberate views of those able public servants, men intimately acquainted with Natal and the Zulus, who had been diligently employed from March to June, after going to the spot, in the conduct of this investigation. Their work had been that of collecting and weighing the evidence, and considering the verdict thereupon, in which the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal had quite agreed. "The title and the right must be held to rest with the Zulus." But Sir H. Bulwer suggested that compensation should be given to individuals or families who had been induced to settle and remain in that part of the country, east of the Blood River, which never belonged to the Transvaal. As for the country

north of the Pongolo, he did not believe the Zulus had any right to it. That was a different affair. But let the verdict now given be executed, "strict justice would be done, and thus would be ended, with some cost to the Transvaal, this long-standing question, which has been an element of mischief and danger in this portion of South Africa for the past sixteen or seventeen years, and to the settlement of which the good faith of English authority in South Africa has unquestionably been committed."

The Queen's High Commissioner in South Africa was thus respectfully invited "to give, at once, a decision by which substantial justice may be done in that matter." The lengthy controversy which ensued between the Government's chiefs of Natal and Cape Town, supported respectively by some of their officials, is an interesting study of forensic special pleading. But I find it distressing, even humiliating, to see how every shift of subtle and evasive argumentation was resorted to for the purpose, apparently, not indeed of reversing the verdict, but of disparaging its imperative necessity as an act of mere justice upon the proof of certain facts at issue, and so colouring the final award as an act of grace—"a cession," as Sir Bartle Frere called it, to which he might attach his own impossible conditions. This was not fair; it was not



right; and this alone is the cause of our present Zulu War.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, for his part, being consulted as Administrator of the Transvaal, replied with a great amount of detailed criticism of the Commissioners' Report, but could not, in Sir Bartle Frere's opinion, show any sufficient grounds for setting aside their verdict. He had been well aware for a twelve-month previous that to reject this claim of the Zulu Kingdom to its land east of the Blood River would imply going to war against the Zulu king, who was crowned by his patronising hands, and who used to call him "Father." There was little love lost between them after he removed to the Transvaal; that is to say, after the Dutchmen were induced, by fears of a Zulu invasion which he told them he alone could prevent, to acquiesce in his peremptory annexation of their country. Ketchwhy, up to that event, was prepared to help "Somtseu," if needed and allowed, in a tremendous manner of which he told Mr. Fyney two or three months afterwards, when news of the annexation was sent him. "I began to wonder," said Ketchwhy, "why he did not tell me something of what he was doing. I heard that the Boers were not treating him properly, and that they intended to put him into a corner. If they had done so, I should not have

waited for anything more. Had but one shot been fired, I should have said, 'What more do I wait for? they have touched my Father!' I should have poured my men over the land, and I can tell you, the whole land would have burned with fire."

It is, of course, utterly inconceivable that the British Special Commissioner would, under any circumstances—even if the Transvaal Republican Government had put him under arrest—have accepted the aid of a Zulu army to coerce the Boers. This is only what Ketchwhyho was then willing to do; and Sir T. Shepstone's first care, on the 11th of April, the eve of annexation, was to send a message to warn Ketchwhyho that he must never more think of attacking the Transvaal. "I am glad the English have taken it," he answered. "Perhaps now we shall have rest. But my men are all ready. Will not Somtseu let me have one little raid, among the Swazies, just to wash my spears? I am no king till I have washed my spears." The frank, fierce, straightforward savage!

It was very different between them at Christmas of that year, after the October meeting of Sir T. Shepstone with Mnyamana and other Indunas at Rorke's Drift to dispute the boundary question. Ketchwhyho then said, to native messengers who saw him, that he had heard Somtseu was going to bring an army against

him, from Natal and the Transvaal and the Swazies ; but if this were true he would not resist. They should come and find him unarmed, he could not fight his Father ! But he would send to ask his Father, what had he done wrong ? He would never fight the English ; if he had wished to fight, it should be the Boers who had greatly provoked him. But his soldiers, his people, would never consent to give up this land ; they would sooner die for it. " You hear what they say ? " the King went on ; " that is the Zulu people speaking ! I dare not go against what they say about the land ; they would turn against me if I did so." This was confirmed by the declarations of Mnyamana and other Indunas.

But it was an opinion already expressed by Sir T. Shepstone in writing to Lord Carnarvon, and by his son, Mr. J. W. Shepstone, who had succeeded to his office in Natal, that a war made by us against Ketchwhy would really be acceptable to the majority of the Zulu nation. Ketchwhy himself would rather not fight, and there was no war party against us ; but there was a very large party ready to take advantage of the war, to make a revolution, and to overthrow his sanguinary despotism. Much was thought of the King's brother Uhamu having taken offence because of an accidental conflict at the New Year's Assembly

between his regiment and another, where many were killed. These calculations upon the chances of a revolution in the Zulu Kingdom in case of an English war seem to have been cherished by Sir Bartle Frere, but not by Sir Henry Bulwer, who rather believed the effect would be to make that warlike nation rally around its King.

Rumours of war grew rife on the Tugela frontier in September, when Lord Chelmsford was busy there, and his troops were brought up from their late field of warfare on the Kei. The Zulu frontier was disturbed by military movements on our side ; while on the opposite bank of the Tugela, during a few days, there had been large " hunting parties," or so called, which our frontier agents watched with some uneasiness, but these came to nothing.

The High Commissioner arrived from Capetown in the last week of September. It is probable that Sir Bartle Frere at that date knew little more about the Zulus and Ketchwhyó than he might have learned while presiding over the Royal Geographical Society in London. But he had projected the conquest of their country six months before, as he wrote in May that it would be necessary, sooner or later, " to extend the British Protectorate over all between the Transvaal and the sea." The political motives are easily

comprehended ; they had long been familiar to every South African colonist. The Western metropolitan province of the old Cape Colony will never agree to the Colonial Office favourite scheme of a Confederation until the Zulus are subdued, because of the enormous Native risk and responsibility attached to Natal and the Transvaal. In all South Africa there are less than half a million of white men, against two millions, at least, of Kaffirs ; and the latter grow fast in numbers, in possession of cattle, in political intelligence, and in courage now that they are furnished with guns. Sir Bartle Frere was advised, both by Sir T. Shepstone, and by the Cape Colony Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. Brownlee, that the way to meet this approaching danger was by striking down the Zulu military kingdom. I do not say that this was an erroneous opinion ; but I do say that false pretexts were adopted, slanders were disseminated, every device of an immoral sophistry was used, and the obvious duty of justice to our neighbour was shamefully violated, to find a way to making war upon Ketchwhyho at this particular moment, and with the unusual military force that was at hand. If such statecraft as this be governing South Africa on civilized principles, rather let honest savagery prevail till God, in His own good time, shall send the True Light among its dusky

nations, "to guide their feet into the way of peace!"

We have been long enough led by the nose in the hands of official mystery-men, who deal forth huge and vague generalities of assertion to prejudice the ill-informed Parliamentary mind, that they may securely hoodwink the Queen's Government at home, and carry on their perilous projects in remote dependencies of the Empire. If they know so much more than they choose to tell us in the printed despatches and minutes laid before Parliament, which I or anybody else can study, how are we to know that their judgment or temper is always to be relied upon, so that any Colonial Governor may be trusted with the prerogative of declaring war? High personal character, like that of Sir Bartle Frere, for whom, out of South Africa, we all feel great respect, is apparently no security for the really good man's official conduct when placed in that deceptive and seducing position, with that fallacious social atmosphere of a colonial capital around him, where speculators and intriguers of every class beset the petty throne of provincial administration. And it is the good men who do the bad things; a man in that position belies his own character; he is one beside himself. A famous Benthamite moralist and preacher of the Peace Society is sent to Hong Kong

to promote our trade with China ; and he bombards the commercial city of Canton. A brave and generous man, known long since in Australia not only as an explorer but as a friend of the native race—he is sent to Jamaica ; and lo, there is an alarming negro riot, with several murders, the consequence of magisterial injustice and of some rash volunteers firing on the people ; but presently we see the lawless military butchery of hundreds, and harmless villages in flames, and half-naked women scourged with whips of wire, and the deadly hatred of race and class indulged with a reign of terror. Colonial Governors are not always to be trusted ; read once more in this volume the story of Langalibalele's broken tribe ! There is no feature of contemporary politics, to my mind, that so urgently demands the most earnest attention for the sake of English honour and humanity ; not only of that "civilisation" which in these days enlists a fanatical zeal, but of that Christianity which should be recommended by our practical example of Christian equity, veracity, and charity, "doing unto others as we would have them do to us," whatever be the colour of their skin, their fashion of dress or nudity, and their grotesque fancies of heathen superstition. May God mend us all !

I do not care now to fill up the small gap left in

this narrative by describing Sir Bartle Frere's pretended award to the Zulus of their own territory, and his annexed demands of their king. The award was itself subject to conditions which no independent Native State could accept; making its few European intruders the lords of the land, opponents of its native rule—instead of giving them pecuniary compensation from the Transvaal, and allowing them to remove within the colonial pale. The arguments upon this question were discussed with Sir Bartle, to no avail, by Bishop Colenso as the faithful friend of the Zulu nation, and may be read in their latest printed correspondence in the Blue Book, C.—2252. “The war has begun,” are the Bishop's parting words, “and will be carried on to the end, with results beyond our power of calculating; but over all, we know, is the living God; just and right is He.” With regard to the international claim of satisfaction for two or three frontier transgressions already related, there was little cause to doubt that Ketchwhy would speedily have paid the fines of so many cattle proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. But what the High Commissioner aimed at was no apology, no satisfaction, no compensation for these alleged positive injuries, none of which, it is confessed, were ever intended or sustained by the Zulu king. Nor could he have thought



it worth a great and costly war to gratify the spite of a few disappointed mercenary foreign missionaries in Zulu Land, who had never been threatened or insulted, but who had failed to make converts, and knowing the king's dislike to their ways, came into Natal with unproved tales of slaughter. Of such tales it is enough to say—as of the alleged horrible killing of girls and young women for refusing to marry old soldiers—that no credible European witness, actually resident in Zulu Land, has come forward to give direct personal evidence of these atrocities reported by fugitive Zulus to one or two official persons in Natal. Bishop Colenso does not much believe in them, but then he does not much believe in the Pentateuch, or in the Divine appointment of barbarous Hebrew examples of political morality for the edification of Christian nations. Indeed, a white-robed minister of the Lord of Love, on Sundays in church reading out those wild passages of antiquated history from the Book of Joshua, the favourite of the Dutch Boers, savours of the Thirty-nine Articles and the indelibility of holy orders, but I prefer the Sermon on the Mount!

Now, this Ultimatum of Sir Bartle Frere's which he sent in December to the King of the Zulus, a naked heathen savage but nevertheless a legitimate and constitutional king, the head of a haughty Royal House,

the ruler of a valiant and unconquered nation—what was the Ultimatum? “You must instantly disband your army; you must keep only such troops, and for such services, as we shall henceforth direct; you shall forthwith repeal those Spartan laws of regulated marriages and civil settlement, designed to facilitate your military organisation, which your powerful ancestors, the founders of an imperial dynasty, have bequeathed to your nation. You are the vassal of the British Government; we require you to perform the promises of your Coronation day *to us*, that you would rule your people more humanely and discreetly than before.” Such promises, as the reader will have seen, had not been stipulated with the British Government, nor had the British Government taken any pains to inquire how Ketchwhyó does actually rule his own people. There is scarcely any well authenticated information upon that subject. But what was the Ultimatum to which the King of Zulu Land, a proud man, “frank and straightforward,” and I think somewhat chivalrous, with a princely sense of honour and a regard for public duty in his station, was harshly told he must return his consent within thirty days? It was merely the challenge to a duel of rival nations for political life or death—a contest of “man-slaying machines,” of Martini-Henry rifles, Woolwich shells and Gatling

guns, against naked human warriors armed with spears and clubs—all the scientific appliances of modern civilisation on our side, all the “preparation of the Gospel of Peace,” wherewith to evangelize the heathen !

Sir Bartle Frere ends his last letter to Bishop Colenso almost with these words, that the questions they were discussing, which are those shown in this long chapter, are now, since the war had commenced, “only of quasi-historical importance.” They are of moral, and therefore of eternal and universal importance ; else this chapter should not have been written. Sir Bartle Frere wrote those words on the 22nd of January ; and on that day in the same hour, a fearful disaster, *non sine numine*, befell the British army at Isandhlwana.

## CHAPTER XV.

### OUR PRESENT ZULU WAR: ISANDHLWANA.

Sir Bartle Frere's apology for invading Zulu Land.—Lord Chelmsford's army.—Formation and positions of its five columns.—They cross the frontier, January 11th.—Lord Chelmsford with Colonel Glyn's column.—Capture of Sirayo's kraal.—The camp at Isandhlwana.—The General moves on in advance, January 22nd.—What happened in his absence.—Colonel Durnford and Colonel Pulleine.—The beginning of the conflict.—Colonel Durnford falls back.—Defence of the camp.—Destruction of our troops.—Heroic defence of the post at Rorke's Drift.—A few remarks.

WITH regard to this war, which has commenced so disastrously for the British arms, there seems to be a prevalent opinion that the High Commissioner showed great rashness in precipitating a conflict with such a formidable enemy. This is a question of expediency, quite apart from the absence of any pronounced infraction of the law of nations, or tangible "*casus belli*," which would appear to justify so extreme a measure. Indeed the tremendous disparity in numbers between the native and European races in South Africa might seem to render the success of such an undertaking eminently hazardous. It is difficult for the

general English public to form an opinion on the merits of this question, so far removed as we are from the country, but Sir Bartle Frere appears to have been of opinion that the Zulu King was quite ready for war, and that its outbreak was only a question of time and opportunity with him. Ketchwhy, it was thought, had come to entertain an overweening confidence in the number and strength of his warriors. This assurance was much heightened latterly by the great increase in his supply of firearms imported through Delagoa Bay, and other channels of trade. In this position of affairs, Sir Bartle Frere decided that the bold course was the best ; more especially as he had a considerable force of British troops at his disposal at the time. There has always been a tendency on our part to underrate our native enemies. It has been indeed, the fault of nearly all our commanding officers in former Kaffir wars. Sir Harry Smith was a notable instance of this disposition ; and Lord Chelmsford at the outset of the present campaign evidently fell into the same error, when he neglected to take the most ordinary tactical precautions against surprise, in his advance against so active an enemy.

Sir Bartle Frere, in his despatch of February 16th, gives an explanation of his reasons for commencing the war against the Zulus, before obtaining the sanc-

tion of the English Ministry to that extreme measure. He expresses himself as follows :

“My reply is, that it was impossible to delay without incurring the danger of even greater evils than a Zulu war, and possibly even precipitating a war. Cetewayo well knew that he had got every acre of land he was ever likely to get without fighting for it ; and he was, as I had anticipated, not in the least satisfied with having got only a small portion of what he demanded, and little if anything more than he had already seized for himself. He had nothing now to gain by dissimulation and delay, unless he could get Lord Chelmsford and his troops removed. Amid all the conflicting and most unsatisfactory information which came in at this time, this fact seemed clear to my mind,—that Cetewayo had not the least intention of conceding anything except to force ; and that, with all his conceit in his own prowess and ignorance of ours, he would rather take the first opportunity to fight Lord Chelmsford as he was, than wait till the General had got reinforcements.

“Such an opportunity as Cetewayo might desire would, I felt assured, not be long in coming. The impetuosity of his young men, or the dissatisfaction of the old ones, inducing him to fear treason, might at any moment precipitate his action, and compel

him to attack some one, in order to avoid revolution and his own assassination. I had no doubt he saw as clearly as I did, that his surest safety was in action. He had already, since I left Cape Town, twice placed his regiments, under pretence of hunting, on the Natal border; and each time, their return without crossing was a subject of marvel to most well-informed persons who had experience of Zulu ways. A fall in the river rendering it easily fordable, a very usual occurrence at this season, or the escape of game, or of human wretches running for refuge across the river, might bring an 'impi' into the colony; and, once let loose, the massacres of former days, within living memory, would most certainly have been repeated.

"But probably, the greatest risk of an irresistible temptation to attack the colony would have been afforded by any occurrence in the Transvaal, which might draw our troops up thither; or by a native outbreak among any of the numerous tribes to which Cetewayo's emissaries, during the past two years, have been directed. I have already repeatedly described his system of Zulu envoys travelling as far as Port Elizabeth in the old Colony, and the borders of the Kalahari Desert to the north-west. I found that many people have thought I attached far too much importance to these missions; but during the last

year, I have received from every tribe with which we have had any communication clear evidence of the unrest they occasioned. The feverish excitement, of which they were among the many causes, was constantly increasing ; and I expected from day to day to hear of some outbreak, which would carry to the minds of the Transvaal population a stronger conviction than ever that we could not control the natives, and that we had seized their country under false pretences. Nothing, I felt assured, could, under such circumstances, have saved Natal from a desolating inroad of Zulus.

“Till last week, few Natal civilians shared my opinions as to the very serious danger of the mischief a Zulu ‘impi’ might do. ‘They were things of the past ;’ and one very able and influential member of the Legislative Council assured me of his conviction that 200 of her Majesty’s soldiers might at any time march through Zulu Land from end to end and not meet an enemy who dared oppose them. No one talks in that way now.

“Had Cetewayo met my messages in the spirit confidently predicted by those who said they knew him best ; had he temporised and made excuses or promises, or availed himself of any of the many openings left for discussion, I should, of course, have



postponed my active operations till I had full sanction to commence. But, except by semi-sarcastic unofficial messages, each contradicting the one sent before it, through Mr. John Dunn and others, he took no notice of my messages, nor commenced any action, such as laying the matter before his councillors, or collecting cattle to pay fines demanded, to show that he really intended to take into consideration what I had said to him. His only action I could clearly hear of was his summoning his young regiment prepared for immediate field service.

“With an irruption into British territory so imminent, with so many contingent dangers in the shape of resistance to authority in the Transvaal, or of native outbreaks away from Zulu Land, should I have been justified in delaying to put the defence of the frontier into the hand of the only man who could defend it, viz., the General commanding her Majesty’s forces? I am charged, as High Commissioner, with the duty of preventing such inroads; I am specially enjoined ‘to take all measures, and to do all that can and may lawfully and discreetly be done, for preventing the recurrence of any irruption into her Majesty’s possessions by hostile tribes, and for maintaining the said possessions in peace and safety.’ I felt it was a choice between making such an inroad almost certain

by delay, and taking the responsibility of placing the defence of the colony in the General's hands. I had exhausted without success every device I could think of, consistent with honour, to obtain reparation for the past or security for the future; and had the attack, which I believed to be almost inevitable, been encouraged by inaction, I should hardly have deserved forgiveness for inviting it, by any delay in taking the responsibility of immediate armed precaution.

"It will probably be asked, 'Why not have stood upon the defensive, and allowed him to commence the war, and thus have given time for a reference to her Majesty's Government?' To this I answer, that, after most careful consideration of the position, with the best advice I could obtain here, I came to the conclusion that the only real defence was to take up such positions in Zulu Land as should make it more improbable that the Zulus would cross the border. I have no reason, even now, to think that this was a mistake."

The thirty days prescribed in Sir Bartle Frere's ultimatum having expired without any sign that the Zulu King would comply with its demands, the invading forces under command of Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, on the 11th and 12th of January, crossed the frontier at several points quite distant from one another. They were divided into five

separate columns. The first, under the command of Colonel Pearson, 3rd regiment (Bufs) consisted of 1500 infantry, including Naval Brigade, 300 cavalry, and two or three thousand of the Native Contingent, with four seven-pounder guns of the Royal Artillery, one Gatling gun and two rocket tubes. It crossed the Tugela near the mouth of that river at the sea-coast, to advance upon Etchowe, the old Norwegian missionary station, twenty or thirty miles on the road to Ketchwhy's capital. The second column, that of Colonel Durnford, R.E., was placed on the frontier at Fort Buckingham, which is near the same river forty or fifty miles above its mouth ; this force was composed entirely of native troops, and was intended not to cross the frontier by itself, but to act as a support to either of the columns on its left or right hand. The third column advanced from Helpmakaar, by the ford over the Buffalo River called Rorke's Drift, which is at the angle where the old reputed Transvaal boundary with Zulu Land meets the Natal frontier, and close to which is the district so long in dispute. This was the headquarters' column, accompanied by Lord Chelmsford and his staff. The commanding officer was Colonel Glyn, C.B., of the 24th, so lately engaged in the Trans-Kei war against the Galekas ; and his force consisted of the first and second battalions of that

regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonels Pulleine and Degacher ; a squad of Mounted Infantry, under Major Russell, of the 12th Lancers ; the N battery of the 5th brigade of Royal Artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Harness, and the 5th Company of Royal Engineers ; the Natal Mounted Police, under Major Dartnell ; the Natal Carbineers, the Newcastle Mounted Rifles, and Buffalo Border Guard ; and the Natal Native Contingent, under Commandant Lonsdale ; the total being 1500 infantry, 200 cavalry, and nearly 400 natives, with six guns. The fourth column, which acted in combination with that of Colonel Glyn, under the immediate direction of the Commander-in-Chief, was commanded by Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., C.B., and mustered 2278 officers and men, being formed of the first battalion of the 13th Regiment, the 90th Regiment, the Frontier Light Horse, under Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Buller, C.B., of the 60th Foot, and six guns of the Royal Artillery, with a few irregular and native troops ; this force moved forward from Utrecht, in the Transvaal, to support the left flank of the head-quarters' column as it entered Zulu Land at Rorke's Drift. The fifth column, that of Colonel Hugh Rowlands, V.C., C.B., was too far removed northward, on the Pongolo near Lüneburg, to render any direct assistance to the central portion of the army, but served to protect

the eastern districts of the Transvaal from an irruption of the enemy ; this force comprised the 80th Foot and several local volunteer corps, with three guns. The whole army numbered under 16,000 men, of whom less than half were British troops.

On the 11th of January, the four columns above detailed under Colonels Pearson, Durnford, Glyn, and Wood, advanced simultaneously from Fort Williamson, Fort Buckingham, Rorke's Drift, and Utrecht respectively ; the objective point of their combined advance being Undini, the Zulu capital. The first column, under Colonel Pearson, crossed the Lower Tugela Drift at Fort Pearson ; and this advanced as far as Inyezane without experiencing any opposition, but at that place, which is about five miles from Etchowe, it was attacked by the Zulus in considerable force, losing two officers of the native contingent, three privates of the Buffs, and one of Mounted Infantry. The Zulus were defeated with a loss of 300 of their number ; and Colonel Pearson then marched on to Etchowe, where he intrenched his camp. The headquarters or left centre column, namely the 3rd, under Colonel Glyn, crossed the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift into Zulu Land, also without opposition ; while the 2nd, or right centre column, under Colonel Durnford, having crossed the Tugela at Middle Drift, afterwards moved up the

left bank of the river, and effected a junction with the 3rd column, under Lord Chelmsford's command. The 4th column, under Colonel Wood, advanced into Zulu Land by the Blood River, having Utrecht for its base. Colonel Wood in his advance succeeding in capturing cattle, and disarming some of the natives : he halted at Bemba's Kop, thirty-five miles from Rorke's Drift.

After effecting his passage at Rorke's Drift, Lord Chelmsford pushed forward with a cavalry division to meet Colonel Wood, for the purpose of making arrangements with him for their mutual support during the advance on Undini. This cavalry force succeeded in bringing in from three to four hundred head of cattle, sheep, horses, and goats, while the inhabitants of the kraals fled at the first sight of the troops, and were too much surprised at the suddenness of our movements to offer any resistance.

The captured cattle being sent to the rear, the march was resumed on the following day, through an undulating grass country, sufficiently broken to render an advance very difficult, except along the ridges over which the track led ; while to the right rose the long Nqutu Hill, which forms a semi-circle of some twenty miles' length, its more westerly portion being very abrupt and precipitous, and covered with thorn bush.

Here the stronghold of the chief, Sirayo, was situated. On reaching the Bashee, the mounted scouts reported that armed Zulus were leaving the kraals, and driving the cattle up under the precipices. Colonel Glyn then directed three companies of the 24th Regiment, and the 1st Battalion of the 3rd Regiment, with the Natal Native Contingent, to advance and capture the cattle, while Major Russell, with the mounted portion of the force, was to continue along the waggon track to the high ground above. As soon as the precipitous sides of the mountain were occupied by the infantry, a fire was opened upon them by the Zulus, who were occupying very strong positions in the caves and rocks above; and a fight ensued, which lasted about half an hour, till the mountain side was cleared. The cattle and horses were captured, but the Zulus left behind to defend the cattle made a stubborn resistance. Among the dead was a son of Sirayo, the chief whose two runaway wives were pursued into British territory last year.

Early on the morning of the 20th of January, the headquarters column commenced its further advance into Zulu Land. Lord Chelmsford and his Staff left the camp at Rorke's Drift, and arrived at the advanced camp on the Bashee. The force here consisted of four companies of the 2nd Battalion of the

24th Regiment, and 2nd Battalion of the Natal Native Contingent. The camp was struck, and the troops were soon ready to march, the pioneers having made the roads practicable. By noon all the troops had reached the southern face of the Isandhlwana hill, on the southern slope of which the camp was to be pitched.

The Isandhlwana hill rises abruptly, almost as a precipice, to the west of the position, as abruptly descending again to the east. At either end of it is a neck connecting it with the smaller ridges of undulating hills, of which the lower portion of the country is composed. The road from Rorke's Drift passes over the westerly portion, while on the north side, that opposite to the camp, is a deep glen and watercourse, beyond which are open level ridges, until the Isipezi, the Isiluwari, the Umpindo, and nearer on the right the Ndhlezakazi and Mabakata hills were reached. To the immediate right was a small stony kopje, or little hill, beyond which the ground is extremely broken, presenting many irregular krantzes and boulder-strewn hills, until the Buffalo River is reached. On the left, about a mile and a quarter distant from the camp, ran a long low ridge towards the south, a neck connecting it with the Isandhlwana hill ; and this ridge has a table-land top, which ulti-



mately leads down into a great open valley to the east.

The different bodies composing the camp were distributed as follows :

On the extreme left, looking up towards the ridge of which I have spoken, were the tents of the Natal Native Contingent, a space of 100 or 200 yards separating the two battalions. Next to them, and occupying the centre of the camp, were the tents of the English Infantry ; immediately above which was the headquarters camp of the Lieutenant-General, in close proximity with the headquarters of the column, under Colonel Glyn, C.B. On the right were the guns, and the Mounted Corps lining the edge of the road. Not far beyond, over the neck at the back of the camp, the ground rises considerably, until the bottom of the precipitous face of the Isandhlwana is reached, so that literally the camp was placed with its back to a wall. Such, roughly speaking, was the position occupied by the camp and the troops, on the morning of the fatal 22nd of January.

On his arrival at the camp at Isandhlwana, Lord Chelmsford rode out accompanied by his Staff, escorted by the Mounted Infantry under Major and Brevet-Colonel Russell, to reconnoitre the natural stronghold in which spies stated that two Zulu chiefs, ruling over

the district of Matyana-ka-Usityakusa, had taken refuge with their cattle. This stronghold was a remarkable fissure in the earth, with a cliff falling precipitously into the depths beneath, which are densely covered with thick thorn bush, and rocky boulders. Here nothing was seen of the enemy, and the General returned to camp. Orders were issued for an early advance next morning. The two battalions of the Natal Native Contingent and the Mounted Police were to work over the ground towards the stronghold above described. Hearing that a large number of cattle had been driven into the ravine on that morning, Commandant Lonsdale, with part of the Native Contingent, started to gain the table-land dominating it. The Mounted Police, under the command of Major Dartnell, had meantime come across a body of the enemy estimated at 1,000 strong on the Umpindo hill east of the stronghold. Being too weak to engage these, they returned to effect a junction with the Carbineers and Native Contingent upon the table-land. Thinking that this force was on its way to join the Zulus, already said to be concealed in the stronghold, Commandant Lonsdale decided to bivouac on the spot that night, that he might prevent such a junction ; intending to commence operations in the morning. The General, to whom this step was

reported, approved of the plan, and gave instructions for sending out the necessary supplies. Parties of the Natives had been also seen from the camp, hovering in an easterly direction ; and in addition to these, one or two mounted bodies of Zulus had been hovering about the left front.

During the night, despatches came in from Major Dartnell, saying that the enemy had shown themselves in greater force ; and expressing a wish for some British Infantry to come to his assistance in the morning. At three o'clock in the morning, Lord Chelmsford ordered an advance, with the Mounted Infantry, the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment, and four guns, to reinforce Major Dartnell and the force under his command. In the mean time, orders had been sent to Colonel Durnford, R.E., who was at Rorke's Drift, to move up with two hundred and fifty mounted men, and two hundred and fifty Native Infantry, with a rocket battery to the camp.

Preparations were now made by the General to storm the Isilulwani hill. This was an immensely strong position ; but the Zulus, although seen descending in considerable force, kept retiring according to what was afterwards seen to be a preconceived plan. A general advance was accordingly now ordered. The General and his Staff, however, made a halt for

breakfast. At this period, news was received from Colonel Pulleine and the camp at Isandhlwana, that the enemy were observed in force on the left, to the amount of some five or six hundred, and that the mounted men in camp had just gone out to patrol in that direction. About half-past ten, the General ordered the Natal Native Contingent to retire to the left on the camp at Isandhlwana. At this time, several officers who had merely come out for a ride left to return to the camp. Among these were Captain Alan Gardner, Lieutenant McDougall, R.E., Lieutenant Griffiths, of the 2nd Battalion 24th, and Lieutenant Dyer, of the 1st Battalion of that regiment. An escort of mounted men accompanied them.

An encounter soon afterwards took place with a small body of the enemy, of whom forty were killed, and some prisoners taken, with a loss on our side of two of the Natal Contingent, and three wounded. It was at this period of the day, half an hour after noon, that a suspicion that something was going wrong at the camp first arose in the General's party. One of the prisoners taken stated that a large army was expected up from the King that day. It was estimated by those who knew the regiments named at 20,000 or 25,000 men. Whilst this cross-examination of the

prisoner was going on, those standing near heard the report of big guns in the direction of the camp ; and the Kaffirs about said, "Do you hear that ? There is fighting going on at the camp." This was at once reported to the General, who was then on his way towards the lower part of the range, where he was about to select a place for his camp. While doing so, a native on horseback, who had just galloped down the opposite ridge, from which he could see the camp, hallooed out ; saying that he could see firing, and hear big guns going off at the camp.

Lord Chelmsford and his Staff instantly galloped up to the crest of the hill. Looking through a field-glass in the direction of the camp, however, all seemed quiet. The sun was shining brightly on the white tents. No signs of firing were discerned ; and though bodies of men could be seen moving about, these were put down as some of own troops. This was at a quarter before two o'clock, and not the faintest suspicion of any fatality seems to have crossed the minds of the General and his Staff. It was not until a quarter to three that Lord Chelmsford turned his horse towards the camp.

When the General with Colonel Glyn's force came about four miles from the camp, they met with the Natal Native Contingent, which seeing that the camp

had been attacked by a force much its superior in numbers, had halted. About half an hour afterwards, a solitary horseman was perceived wending his way at a foot pace, towards the General's party. As he came nearer, it was perceived to be Commandant Lonsdale, who was known to have ridden on in advance. The first words he uttered struck everyone with consternation: "The camp is in the possession of the enemy, sir!"

It appears that Lonsdale was quietly returning to the camp, after leaving the General, and had approached it very near, when his attention was arrested by a bullet passing disagreeably close to him. Looking up, he saw a native, who had just fired. At the same time, he saw what appeared to be our red-coated soldiers, sitting in groups around the tents. When he got within ten yards of the tents, to his surprise he saw a Zulu come out of one of them, with a bloody assegai in his hand. Lonsdale then perceived that the wearers of the red uniforms were all Zulus. His self-possession did not desert him, but quietly turning his pony round, he galloped off. He escaped by a miracle the shower of bullets which fell around him on all sides, and was thus enabled to warn Lord Chelmsford, and probably to save the approaching party from being cut off to a man.

We will now go back to what took place in the camp at Isandhlwana. Before the General left there, written orders were sent to Colonel Pulleine to take command of the camp during the absence of Colonel Glyn, and to draw in his line of defence and his infantry outposts, but to keep his cavalry vedettes still far advanced. After the departure of the main body of the column, nothing unusual occurred in camp, until about eight o'clock, when a report arrived from a picket, stationed at a point about 1,000 yards distant on a hill to the north, that a body of the enemy could be seen approaching from the north-east. Colonel Pullcine then ordered the whole of the troops available to assemble near the eastern side of the camp. He also despatched a mounted man, with a report to the General. Shortly after nine, a small body of the enemy showed itself just over the crest of the hills, but retired in a few minutes, disappearing completely. Soon afterwards, information arrived from the picket, that the enemy was in three columns, two of which were retiring, but were still in view; the third column had disappeared in a north-westerly direction. About ten o'clock, Colonel Durnford arrived in the camp, with 250 Mounted Natives and a rocket battery. On his arrival, he took over command of the camp from Colonel Pulleine, who gave him a verbal

account of the troops, and stated the orders he had received to defend the camp.

A report now came in from the front that the Zulus were retiring. Upon hearing this, Colonel Durnford sent two troops of Mounted Natives to the top of the hills on the left, and took with him two troops and the rocket battery, with an escort of one company of the Native Contingent, on to the front of the camp, about four or five miles off. Before leaving, he asked Colonel Pulleine to give him two companies of the 24th Regiment. This Colonel Pulleine refused to do, saying that his orders were to defend the camp. He agreed, however, to send reinforcements to Colonel Durnford, should he get into difficulties.

Colonel Durnford cantered on four or five miles ahead to meet the enemy on the hills, leaving the infantry and the rocket battery to follow him slowly. When he got near the summit, an orderly rode down and reported that the enemy were in force behind the summit. He had hardly uttered the words when the Zulus came over the crest in thousands, throwing out a dense cloud of skirmishers as they advanced; they also appeared on the left.

A company of the 1st Battalion of the 24th was then pushed up to the neck between the Isandhlwana hill and the position occupied by the Zulus, where



they at once became engaged with the Umcityu Zulu regiments along the waggon road. These Zulus are supposed to have gone after the baggage waggons brought by Colonel Durnford. This company of the 24th never returned to the camp, having been destroyed by the overwhelming attack of the Zulus, upon whom it is said by natives to have inflicted frightful loss.

Colonel Durnford retreated steadily with his force about two miles. He then came upon the remains of the rocket battery, which had been destroyed. It appears that Captain Nourse of the Natal Native Contingent, who had charge of it, hearing heavy firing on the left, had changed his direction to that side before reaching the crest of the hills. He had nevertheless been attacked on all sides. The first volley had dispersed the mules and the natives, who had returned to the camp as they best could. Colonel Durnford's force was here reinforced by about forty mounted men from the camp, but was eventually obliged to retreat.

Colonel Pulleine now sent out two companies of the 1st Battalion of the 24th, to support Colonel Durnford; while he formed up the remaining companies in line. The guns were brought into action on the extreme left flank, facing the hill on the left.

The two companies of the 24th Regiment sent out to reinforce Colonel Durnford were drawn up in extended order at about two yards' distance, at the foot of the slope ; and Captain Younghusband's company, *en échelon*, on the left. The enemy was still descending the hill.

The companies of the 24th were presently becoming short of ammunition ; and a fresh supply was sent for. These troops had meantime retired to within 900 yards of that portion of the camp occupied by the Native Contingent. The Zulus were now surrounding the camp on the right and rear. The men of the Native Contingent took alarm, and retreated in the utmost disorder ; thus laying open the right and rear of the companies of the 24th Regiment on the left. By this means, the enemy pouring in at that part of the line, all was soon in confusion. Only a few of the men of the 1st Battalion had time to fix bayonets : but the Zulus had already closed with our troops, and were using their stabbing assegais with fearful effect. The remaining men of that small body hastened off in the direction of Rorke's Drift. It was about half-past one in the afternoon. Major Smith and Lieutenant Curling of the Royal Artillery had brought their guns into action for some time previously, when the Zulus

were advancing at about 3,400 yards from the camp. The 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment soon coming up extended in skirmishing order on both flanks, and in line with the guns. As the enemy still advanced, the guns commenced firing case ; but almost immediately, the infantry getting the order to retire, the enemy were at the guns, and one gunner was assegaied as he was mounting the axle-tree box. The limber gunners did not mount, but ran after the guns.

By this time the enemy's attack extended along the whole front of the camp, a distance of 800 yards, and along the whole left, a distance of about 600 yards. Although they had been held somewhat in check by our fire, they were still advancing rapidly towards the gaps between our troops. Up to this point, their advance had been steady, and without noise ; but they now began to move at the double, and call to one another. The camp followers and the Native Contingent then took to flight. The troops were soon obliged to retire upon the tents, to avoid being cut off, as the Zulus had already burst through the gaps in their line. As the men fell back, the Zulus came on with a rush, and in a very few seconds, it became a hand-to-hand conflict. The enemy, as they came on, fell in hundreds before the deadly fire

of the infantry; but those in the rear immediately took their places in the front ranks; and nothing could stop them.

There was now a general retreat through the tents in the only direction left open, that towards Rorke's Drift, over the neck of the Isandhlwana mountain, and down a steep ravine. This route soon became quite blocked up. The Zulus were already there in considerable numbers, while the Undi corps about this time made its appearance on the right rear of the camp, cutting off the retreat. Fortunately the Nkobamakosi regiment, instead of attempting completely to surround the camp, by making a junction with the Undi, followed the retreating natives, thus leaving a narrow passage open for the escape of a small number. A few of them were killed by the Undi, but that corps, believing that the camp was already plundered, seems to have decided to make the best of its way to Rorke's Drift, never deeming that the few men left there could offer any opposition to an attack.

It was in retreating through this narrow neck, that the artillery gunners and drivers were assegaied; their officers had been killed when the Zulus rushed in upon the guns, at which crisis Major Smith was stabbed whilst in the act of spiking the guns.

It is reported by a survivor of this terrible fight, that when Colonel Pulleine perceived that all was lost, and that the camp must fall into the hands of the enemy, he called Lieutenant Melvill and thus addressed him, "You and the senior Lieutenant will take the colours, and make the best of your way out of the camp." He shook hands with Melvill, then turning round to his men, he said: "Men of the 24th, here we are, and here we stand and fight it out to the end." He is described at this moment as appearing quite cool and collected.

The few men who escaped through the ravine towards Rorke's Drift got to the Buffalo River by slipping down slopes which were quite precipitous. How any horseman ever got safely down there is a marvel. When they got to the river, it was high, and there was a bad-drift. A number of horses and men were drowned here, but those who managed to mount the steep side opposite were safe.

On the same afternoon, about 250 of the 24th and 13th Light Infantry, who had marched up from Maritzburg, had left Helpmakaar for Rorke's Drift. On the way down, they fortunately met refugees from the camp, who informed them of this great disaster, upon which they returned at once and reinforced the infantry laager at Helpmakaar.

The little garrison left to defend the ford at Rorke's Drift at this time was commanded by Lieut. J. R. M. Chard, of the Royal Engineers. He had under him one company of the 2nd Battalion of the 24th Regiment in charge of Lieut. Gonville Bromhead, and a small number of natives. As we have already seen, after the destruction of the camp at Isandhlwana, a considerable portion of the Zulu Army went off from that bloody field in this direction, expecting the post at Rorke's Drift to fall an easy prey into the hands of their victorious warriors. They soon found, however, to their cost, that they were mistaken; the little band of heroes in the fort, hastily improvising their defences as they best could with any material that came to hand, displayed such desperate valour, and made such a determined resistance, during thirteen hours, to the repeated attacks of their enemies, that before daybreak of the 23rd the Zulus were fain to retreat in dismay, leaving several hundred of their fighting men dead on the field.

Many anecdotes of personal interest are related. An officer belonging to the Natal Contingent, of the name of Young, who had been wounded in the first skirmish with Sirayo, was at the camp at Isandhlwana, being at the time invalided. He states that he fired a rifle from the corner of a waggon, until he had exhausted

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his ammunition ; and then, being unable to get a further supply, he left. He had a good horse, and a desperate rush carried him through a weak point in the enemy's ranks, only just in time. He was chased by the Zulus, but looking back, he saw our men completely surrounded, still firm as a rock, firing rapidly, but fighting to the last. The loud yells of the Zulus filled the air, as their awful work was done with the short stabbing assegai. He saw Lieutenant Coghill and Adjutant Melvill fighting their way through the enemy. They were both capital horsemen and well mounted. They carried off the regimental colours, which were afterwards found in the river, near where these officers were overtaken and slain. Another officer whose conduct merits praise, and who survived the perils of that day, was Captain Alan Gardner. He also, when the camp was in the hands of the enemy, carried at great risk of his own life an order to the small force at Rorke's Drift, about one hundred men under Lieutenant Chard and Lieutenant Gonville Bromhead, warning them to fortify their post, as all was lost at the camp ; and that they must defend themselves and fight to the last. But for the presence of mind of Captain Gardner displayed amid the carnage of Isandhlwana, the little garrison at Rorke's Drift would have been

taken by surprise and probably destroyed. As it was, Bromhead and Chard maintained an heroic resistance throughout the night, and were relieved next morning by Lord Chelmsford.

It appears from a deliberate survey of all the facts connected with this terrible disaster at Isandhlwana, as supplied by subsequent inquiry and elucidation, that our Zulu enemies have been very much underrated. Lord Chelmsford had evidently not used sufficient means to reconnoitre the country in his front. He seems to have been quite ignorant of their proximity, although in considerable force within a short distance of his columns at least two days before the attack. He does not appear even to have sent out scouts ; a necessary measure, one would have thought, to guard against surprise ; a precaution indeed which was never neglected by the Boers, who understood the country and the Zulu method of attack. Then again, he should not have pushed on so far away from his camp without leaving some means of communication with his base, especially in a hilly country. The want of this precaution nearly led, as it proved, to his being cut off. It was by mere accident, by the fact of his encountering Commandant Lonsdale, that Lord Chelmsford was saved, with his Staff, from advancing into the camp, at that time actually in the possession



of the enemy. The difficulty of the country was an argument, therefore, for the necessity of establishing communication with his rear. It is a remarkable fact that notwithstanding the firing of the guns, and the repeated volleys of musketry which were exchanged at the camp during the conflict, the sound seems scarcely to have reached him, though distant only twelve miles from the scene of slaughter.

With regard to the defenceless state of the camp at Isandhlwana, it is inexplicable to me that Lord Chelmsford's experience of Kaffir warfare had not taught him the necessity of parking his waggons, or going into "laager," when forming his camp. That is a precaution which was always taken as a matter of course in former Kaffir wars. The old fighting 73rd, under Colonel Eyre, would never have made this mistake. I can remember that they never camped out in the bush, without securing themselves in this manner. The "laager" was formed by drawing up the waggons as they arrived at the ground, so as to touch each other in a continuous rampart, leaving a hollow square in the centre; they were then lashed together by thin strong hide ropes or "trek-tows," which were passed over the front wheels, and made fast in the rear. Inside the square were disposed the officers' and soldiers' tents, if they had any, for the men were often

unprotected, and simply slept on the ground, covered up in their field blankets, with the horses and cattle. Outside the laagered waggons a strong picket was posted. Before retiring, and from time to time during the night, these pickets were visited by the officer on duty. In case of alarm, the sentries fired, and if necessary retreated through the intervals of the waggons ; and the little garrison was on the alert and safe from surprise. It is evident, that had the camp at Isandhlwana been formed in this way, a mere handful of soldiers might have resisted almost any number of less disciplined natives. A proof of this was, indeed, afterwards exhibited in the heroic defence of the little garrison at Rorke's Drift under Chard and Bromhead, during the same night.

The precipitate zeal which induced Colonel Durnford to push on so far away from the camp, to attack the enemy, seems to have contributed in the first instance to the disaster. It seems that, by so doing he drew the fire of the Umcityu Zulu regiment which was lying in ambush behind the heights ; and according to native information, but for this, the attack would have been put off. He had taken the command out of Colonel Pulleine's hands ; and with him, therefore, must lie the responsibility of withdrawing the troops away from its defence. The orders given to Colonel

Pulleine being to defend the camp in the General's absence. Colonel Durnford's daring spirit of enterprise seems to have led him into an indiscretion on this occasion ; but it is an error that we are always inclined to excuse in a distinguished soldier.

It cannot be denied, that the Zulus carried out their plan of attack very astutely ; and that they appear to have exhibited a great deal of self-control and obedience to discipline on this occasion. That they should have occupied a position only a thousand yards away from Lord Chelmsford's reconnoitring column on the afternoon of the 21st, without being discovered, seems almost incredible. Yet they appear to have betrayed no signs of their presence. This is not a small matter, when we consider how easily they might have overpowered the General's small force. At that time, they were advancing in regular formation, each division of their army holding its proper position, and acting independently. Their plan of attack was not to be carried out until the night of the 21st or morning of the 22nd, as we learn from native scouts, when the disposition of their force would have been completed. The unexpected attack of Colonel Durnford's mounted men, though it forestalled their encounter, found them admirably disposed to take advantage of it, and they were enabled to carry out their usual outflanking

movement, whilst the nature of the ground and the unprotected state of the camp, gave them every advantage in the attack. These are soldier-like qualities. And finally, though our own soldiers did their duty, as British soldiers always have done, and always will do, without a thought of flinching before those overpowering numbers, we must also give the Zulus due credit for their reckless bravery, shown by the undaunted manner in which rank after rank pushed on, to fill up the gaps left vacant by their slain brethren, who fell in heaps before the deadly fire of the British infantry. This is not an enemy to be despised.



## APPENDIX.

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### I. KETCHWHYO'S ALLEGED CRIMES.

SCEPTICISM regarding the Pentateuch may or may not be a theological and ecclesiastical sin; but more religious than belief in ancient Hebrew books is the moral duty of cherishing a reasonable scepticism, to the extent of requiring and scrutinising all the attainable evidence, concerning enormous charges of inhuman criminality, too easily raised under favour of our prevailing antipathies to alien races and classes of men. This Zulu King is a half-naked barbarian, who cannot read and write any more than some of our Norman Kings; yet his character, as it appeared to Sir T. Shepstone in his visit of 1873, and as it still appears to Bishop Colenso—as it would appear, I should think, to all unprejudiced readers of the various reports of conversations with Ketchwhy or messages from him yet published—is neither more nor less than human. He is not a madman, like King Theodore of Abyssinia. In “Macmillan's Magazine” of March, 1878, will be found the simple narrative, forwarded by Bishop Colenso, of “A Visit to King Ketchwayo,” in June, 1877, the reporter being Magera Magwaza, who is the Zulu manager of the Bishop's printing-office. The Bishop says, “I have had him with me from a boy for more than twenty years, and I am sure that his statements are thoroughly to be relied on, as accurate reports of what he has seen and heard

in Zulu Land, and of what he believes with reference to the condition of that country, and the intentions and wishes of its present rulers." This narrative of Magera's, some time before it was sent to England for publication, was read to Mr. Anthony Trollope when he visited Bishop Colenso in Natal—read to him by a young lady, who must have been the Bishop's daughter. "The bulk of the white inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg," says Mr. Trollope, "would probably not have believed a word of it. I believed most of it, every now and then arousing the gentle wrath of the fair reader by casting a doubt upon certain details." In the chapter on Zulu Land, added to the recent abridged edition of his "South Africa," Mr. Trollope expresses his "much doubt" of Sir Bartle Frere's assertion, that the reign of Ketchwhy has become more savage and cruel than former Zulu government. At any rate, I should think that Magera, the Christian Zulu educated by Bishop Colenso, is surely a more credible witness than the few native informants, mere passing travellers or even refugees, who in 1876 brought into Natal some wild rumours they had heard of the massacre of girls and young women for refusing to marry elderly soldiers.

The only record that has ever been published, or that seemingly exists, of any evidence whatever to sustain that most horrible charge, in itself to my mind incredible, will be found in the Parliamentary Blue Book C.—1748, pages 198 and 216. Mr. Osborn, Resident Magistrate at Newcastle, in Natal, in an unofficial letter, not dated, to Mr. John Wesley Shepstone, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs, says, "From all I can learn, Cetywayo's conduct has been and continues to be disgraceful. He is putting people to death in a shameful manner, especially girls. The dead bodies are placed by his order in the principal paths, especially at points where the paths intersect each other, cross roads. A few of the parents

of the young people so killed buried the bodies, and thus brought Cetywayo's wrath on themselves, resulting not only in their own death, but destruction to the whole family. It is really terrible that such horrible savagery could take place on our own borders. Our Kaffirs will never civilise so long as the Zulu Chief remains unrestrained in his barbarous acts towards his people." Now, all this is merely what Mr. Osborn at Newcastle heard from "the natives in this division." His residence was nearly a hundred miles distant from the Zulu kingdom. It does not appear that he was ever in Zulu Land to make inquiries; and the above statements are but the rumours overheard by him across the border, which was and is a constant barrier to free intercourse and communication of intelligence between Ketchwhy's subjects and those of the Natal Government.

The two messengers, Ulujile and Umhlana, sent by Sir Henry Bulwer at the beginning of September, returned on the 9th of October, with a very courteous, friendly, and docile answer from Ketchwhy to the Lieutenant-Governor's admonition that he should not attack the Swazies. "I am not aware," said the King, "that I have ever done anything which would be thought wrong or contrary to the wishes of the Natal Government. The English nation is a just and peace-loving one, and I look upon the English people as my fathers; I shall not do anything outside of their Government." Now, what the messengers say is, "We *heard* that the King was causing some of the Zulus to be killed, on account of disobeying his orders respecting the marriage of girls; and we *saw* large numbers of cattle which had been taken as fines; otherwise the land was quiet."

Sir Henry Bulwer, in his despatch of October 13th, speaks of a "report which had reached" his Government that "some months ago," at the yearly festival, the Nhloulho and Iloko



regiment were authorised by the King to marry, and thereupon "to avoid compulsory marriages with men of these regiments, various devices were resorted to by marriageable girls and by their relatives and lovers. The King, on the deceptions being discovered, ordered, so it was reported, large numbers of girls and others connected with them to be killed, and their bodies to be placed across the high roads, in order that travellers might see the King's displeasure at the laws being broken." Sir Henry adds that this report was "confirmed from other sources," but he does not particularise; and it is obvious that any current popular rumour among the credulous Zulus of the border would be repeated several times, with some variations, in the hearing of white men disposed to listen to those rumours.

There has never been, so far as the published papers show, any further evidence obtained on this subject; it has never been specified in what district of Zulu Land these atrocities were perpetrated; or in what month of the year 1876; or from which of the well-known Zulu regiments the "impi" was drawn for their execution; or which of the Indunas superintended the dreadful work; nor have the names and residences of any of the victims been mentioned.

We have reason here to ask, why did not Sir Henry Bulwer cause a strict inquiry to be made into the truth of the facts by a special commissioner sent into Zulu Land? It may be said that the King would have resisted, or at least resented such a proceeding. If that were so, and if our Government were thus debarred from the right of investigation, what becomes of our pretended right to enforce the coronation laws or pledges of 1873? We ought either to refrain from dictating to the Zulu kingdom matters of its domestic government, or else to provide, in a regular official manner, as by appointing a British Consul to reside there, for

correct information of what actually takes place in that country.

Upon this matter of putting people to death, in 1876, on account of infraction of the military marriage laws, it seems not very unlikely that the King may have inflicted capital punishment, in a very few instances, on persons guilty of practising frauds against his Government, from pecuniary or other motives, to evade the operation of those laws. A marriageable woman among the Zulus, in Natal as well as in Ketchwhy's realm, is an article of property belonging to her male parent or some other kinsman, who expects to sell her for so many cows or oxen. The female herself has little more choice of a husband allowed her, under ordinary circumstances, than where she happens to be one of the class, daughters of men in a certain elder married regiment, who are required to take husbands from amongst a certain regiment of young men. It is quite conceivable that some members of her family, for selfish and sordid purposes, might conspire to defeat this regulation by secretly giving her to somebody who would pay them a higher price for her. These persons would fall under legal condemnation. If, in any particular case, the female herself were involved in such condemnation, we could only say that the law is detestable in all cases, and so indeed it is ; but it is very different from a wholesale massacre of virgins for naturally refusing to give themselves to men individually appointed by the King to be their husbands. This rule seems to be neither more nor less than that the young woman, if she is to be married at all, must be married to a man who is enrolled in an assigned regiment, which may number five or six thousand men ; and it is perhaps the home tyranny of her parent, or of a brother, an uncle, or a remote cousin, that would force her to be married, for his emolument, if she wished to remain free.

I may remark that a very few actual cases, supposing them to have taken place, of which we have no positive evidence, would be multiplied into hundreds by the marvellous power of Zulu gossip on the border. Moreover, some European visitors or residents who sought to provoke English hostility against Ketchwhyho have lent their arithmetical skill to this process of exaggeration, which Bishop Colenso is very well able to correct. The number of mission converts known to have been put to death is reduced to three; and these cases having been investigated prove not to have occurred with the King's sanction, but to have been due to incidental charges, such as a suspected poisoning by the flesh of a diseased ox, or to private vindictiveness of some chief, as is related in Magera's narrative. It does not appear that the simple profession of Christianity, unless where it is accompanied with a desertion of the military service and repudiation of the laws of the kingdom, has ever been treated as a crime. Some of the converts dwelling around some of the foreign missionary stations have been charged with various habitual violations of those laws, not the least offence being that of contraband trading in arms and ammunition. Ketchwhyho has also been much displeased by the injurious newspaper reports which persons connected with the missions have sent to Natal, and of which he has been told by his officious visitors. There is a vehement conflict of opinions between rival parties of the English, German, and Norwegian clergy in that country, with reference to Zulu politics, and it is a pity they cannot leave that burning topic alone; but "Sobantu," as Bishop Colenso is called by the grateful natives, is a man who has suffered in the cause of what he believes to be truth, and he deserves some attention upon these questions of contemporary fact. Whatever may be thought of the Pentateuch "critically examined," the Second

Table of the Decalogue must be upheld and applied to our dealings with the Zulu King; both its commandments not to kill or steal, or covet our neighbour's *land*, and that which forbids the bearing of false witness against our neighbour.

The barbarian soldier-king has talked of "washing his spears," and we are shocked by that rhetorical phrase in time of peace. But the chivalry of Christendom allows it to be an elegant form of speech that a gallant gentleman should be complimented on "fleshing his maiden sword."

There is much cruelty and oppression in Zulu Land, as in Turkey and elsewhere. The Rev. R. Robertson has collected a list of twenty-five murders, but he does not show that these are the acts of the King. It is well that British influence should be exerted with just regard to national feeling, with strict fairness and even gentleness to the individual ruler of that nation, for the reformation of established and customary wrongs. These are, chiefly, the universal military conscription, with the social and domestic evils incidental to that system—the custom of polygamy, with the buying and selling of women—and the hideous superstition of witchcraft, to which hundreds of lives are yearly sacrificed, and by which the criminal law is often converted into an instrument of death to innocent persons. These deplorable evils began long before the reign of Ketchwhy, and he can scarcely possess the power to put an end to them at once. He has to reckon with a strong feudal aristocracy, the hereditary State Councillors and Captains of an armed nation.

## II. ALLEGED MENACING PREPARATIONS.

THE Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, in his memorandum of January 9th, two days before our actual invasion of Zulu Land, gives the following account of what Sir Bartle Frere chooses to call menacing demonstrations on the side of the Zulus:—

“In the early part of September the gathering of a large body of Zulus was reported by our border agent at the Lower Tugela to be taking place on the opposite side of the river, and within a few miles of the border. It was reported also that two large Zulu regiments were there. Ostensibly, the gathering was for hunting purposes; but as there was no game in the neighbourhood, the alleged object was, of course, discredited. It was supposed the gathering was a demonstration of some kind. A number of the Queen's troops had recently arrived in Natal by land and sea, and there had, unfortunately, been much loud and loose talk in consequence in Natal regarding the object for which these troops had come, it being freely and openly said that they had come with the object of invading the Zulu country. These reports did not, of course, fail to reach the King's ears, and he told the Natal messengers who took my message of the 16th of August what he had heard. . . . The border agent said that he had heard that the King had ordered the hunts to be kept up along the border. A letter from the resident magistrate of the Umsinga division confirmed the news . . . and the magistrate stated that the Zulus were watching day and night along the Buffalo. The King was troubled, it was said, and thought the English were surrounding him.

“On the 20th of September we received a message, dated the 30th of August, from the Zulu King, in which he ex-

pressed his disappointment at receiving no answer about the boundary dispute. He was becoming suspicious, he said, and the Natal Government was turned against him and wished to deceive him.

“His suspicions, it is certain, had been aroused, as above noticed, by the arrival of so many troops in Natal, and by the rumours of an intended invasion of the Zulu country which had reached him. It was these rumours, and the apprehensions to which they gave rise, that were, no doubt, the cause of the gathering of the large body of Zulus opposite the Lower Tugela district, and not far from the border. The gathering had been ordered ostensibly for the purpose of hunting, but really with the object either of watching the border or of making a demonstration. The demonstration led to the despatch of a detachment of troops to Grey Town, and this step in its turn increased the apprehensions of the Zulus and the suspicions of the King, though the reasons for it were at once and frankly communicated to him. So-called hunting parties of armed men were then established along the border to keep watch, and other preparations made by him.

“Then came the incident of the Middle Drift, where an armed party of Zulus interfered with Messrs. Smith and Deighton, who had gone there with the view of examining the condition of the Drift. While so engaged an alarm was spread among the Zulus on the opposite side, and a number of men came down and laid hold of Mr. Smith and his companion, and, forcibly detaining them, asked them a number of questions as to the object for which they were there—for the ground belonged to their King—as to the object for which the soldiers had come to Grey Town, and so on. Their excitement gradually cooled down, and after detaining the two for about an hour and a half they let them go. It subsequently appeared that the occurrence had

created a good deal of excitement in the district, a report having spread that the English were crossing, and the Zulus flocked from all directions to resist the invasion.

"It is evident, indeed, from all the information received, that a feeling of disquiet and uncertainty was coming over the Zulu country. There was an uneasiness in the minds of many well-disposed Zulus because of a supposed misunderstanding with the Government of Natal.

"Zulus who had cattle near the border, or cattle among their friends in Natal, came and took them away. They did not know what might happen. The land, they said, was not quiet.

"The statement of a Natal native, who was in the Zulu country in the early days of September, shows something of the manner in which, at the King's kraal and elsewhere among the Zulus, men's minds were disturbed at that time, when every passing event acquired unusual significance."

Sir Henry Bulwer looked upon these demonstrations as symptoms, not of an impending attack upon us, but of fear that we were going to attack them.

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### III. LATEST FROM THE TRANSVAAL.

It is on the 12th of April, 1879, that this sheet is sent to press; the second anniversary of the Annexation of the Transvaal; the birthday of a bad business; and perhaps the worst of it is yet to be seen. The most recent sign of public spirit in that quarter, since the beginning of our Zulu war, is worth putting on record. The following (says the *Natal Witness*) is a translation of the oath of mutual allegiance

taken by a great number of respectable Transvaal Boers at the Wonderfontein meeting. It will strike most people that this is the oath of men who are to be respected ; and that such men are likely to secure the sympathy of the great bulk of the English nation :—" In the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, and praying for His gracious assistance and mercy, we, burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed, for us and for our children, to unite in a holy covenant, which we confirm with a solemn oath. It is now forty years ago since our fathers left the Cape Colony to become a free and independent people. These forty years were forty years of sorrow and suffering. We have founded Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, and three times has the English Government trampled on our liberty. And our flag, baptised with the blood and tears of our fathers, has been pulled down. As by a thief in the night has our free Republic been stolen from us. We cannot suffer this and we may not. It is the will of God that the unity of our fathers and our love to our children should oblige us to deliver unto our children, unblemished, the heritage of our fathers. It is for this reason that we here unite, and give each other the hand as men and brethren, solemnly promising to be faithful to our country and people, and looking unto God, to work together unto death for the restoration of the liberty of our Republic. So truly help us God Almighty."

THE END.





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